

IN THESE TIMES

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40 Cents

You can't see the buzzer in Cyrus Vance's hand

U.S. SALT proposals were born-to-lose.
Analysis page 3, Editorial page 14

In this issue

Civil rights for gays 6

A crucial year in many states

IRA steps up offensive 9

'Open season' declared on industry bosses

Schumacher tells why 10

Big is ugly

The Eagle has landed 21

And the Nazis have mellowed out



THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS

What was that about an emerging GOP majority?

President Carter's proposal to substitute election day registration at the polling places for the usual pre-registration procedures has already sparked a fierce partisan debate.

While COPE's Richard Murphy was calling it a "substantial step forward in citizen involvement in the political process," columnist, author and former Nixon aide Kevin Phillips was warning that it was "a satchel of political dynamite [that] could blow the Republican party sky high."

Both supporters and detractors of the proposal agree that it would boost voter turnout (although there is a disagreement about how much) and that the new voters would more likely vote Democrat than Republican. They base these expectations on recent experiments with "universal registration," as the Carter proposal is called, and on recent profiles of non-voters.

►Universal registration raises turnout.

Minnesota, Maine and Wisconsin, which recently adopted universal registration, were among the five highest states in voter turnout for the 1976 elections. The other two highest, North Dakota and Utah, had no registration and postcard registration, respectively.

Wisconsin and Minnesota, with over 70 percent turnout, increased their 1976 turnout 3.2 and 3.5 percent respectively over 1972. These results are in stark contrast with the national average, which fell three percentage points in 1976.

On the basis of this experience, as well as that of countries, like Sweden, that employ universal registration, large increases in voter turnout are predicted if Carter's proposal is adopted. Phillips and Murphy both predict a 10 to 15 percent rise.

►Young, non-white, and a Democrat.

In 1972 the Census Bureau studied the non-voter and shortly before the 1976 election, Peter Hart Research Associates and the Gallup Poll also conducted studies. Their profile of the typical non-voters showed them to be young, non-white, and potential Democrats.

In 1972, 48 percent of blacks did not vote compared to 35.5 percent of whites. Over half of the 18 to 24 year olds abstained. Both Hart and Gallup found a majority of Democrats among the non-voters. Hart found a majority of Carter supporters.

Wisconsin may have been the test of these theories. The 210,000 new voters contributed by universal registration probably made the difference in giving Carter a surprise narrow victory.

►Having a candidate worth voting for.

But while most observers agree that universal registration will increase turnout, they disagree about how much. In the Hart study, most non-voters said registration procedure was not their reason for not voting. When asked what would get them to vote, nearly half said, "Having a candidate worth voting for."

MIT political scientist Walter Dean Burnham told IN THESE TIMES that universal registration would have only a marginal effect. "People are not turning out," he said, because of "the structure of politics and the way political alternatives are or are not presented."

Burnham said that many people see "the state itself as part of the problem. When they feel discontent, they feel they can have no control through electoral politics over what happens to them."

Burnham believes that a "crisis" is needed to force realignment of the parties and spark voter interest. Given such a crisis, the universal registration system would make possible a flood of people who have not been to the polls before.

►A margin may make the difference.

Burnham is undoubtedly correct in assessing the deeper reasons for voter alienation. Therefore, it would be ridiculous to expect universal registration to lift the

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"This will encourage EVERYONE to vote, Carter. That's carrying democracy too far!"

American turnout from 50 percent to Sweden's 90 percent.

But a margin of three percent is still significant. Even a three percent increase nationally would mean five million new voters, many of them sympathetic to the left. Both the labor movement and the alternative politics movement will also benefit immediately from universal registration. Where before they had poured much of their resources into voter registration campaigns designed to reach the alienated voter, they will now be able to devote their resources directly to voter education.

And of course "euthanasia for the GOP," as the conservative newsweekly *Human Events* described the effects of universal registration, would be nothing to weep over.

Carter rhetoric on human rights back to haunt him

After having devoted so much space to the Trilateral Commission, it is necessary to say something about "bilateral" and "multilateral" foreign aid grants. On behalf of these innocuously geometric labels, a battle was fought in the House of Representatives last week that pitted the administration's hollow rhetoric about human rights against House members' real commitments.

The U.S. has always dispensed foreign aid both directly—bilaterally—through agencies like AID and indirectly—multilaterally—by making grants to international lending agencies like the World Bank, where the U.S. usually has its way. In previous aid requests, bilateral aid has exceeded multilateral, but this year, for the first time, the Carter administration requested more for multilateral.

By doing their business through international agencies, the Carter administration and their supporters in Congress expect that they can influence the internal affairs of a country without having to take the blame. "I am concerned that the AID programs get us into trouble," Sen. Charles H. Percy (R-IL) said recently. "I think a reliance on international organizations would be better."

Through unilateral grants, they also expect to escape

congressional scrutiny. Aid grants to multilateral, international agencies have in the past been seen as "non-political." And Congress has had no power over American representatives who, like the World Bank's Robert McNamara, have been responsible to the executive branch and to American multinationals.

►Chile is the last straw.

But last year's \$60 billion grant to Chile by the World Bank made the American role in multilateral agencies an issue. Congress passed in 1976 the Harkin amendment to the foreign aid bill that required the American representatives to the Inter-American Development Bank and the African Development Bank to oppose aid to countries where there is "a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights."

In 1977, inspired by Carter's stands on human rights, several congressmen introduced an amendment that would extend this proviso to the other larger multilateral agencies to which the Carter administration proposed giving aid, including the World Bank.

Behind the scenes, the administration fought the amendment. With the cooperation of House Banking Committee chairman Henry S. Reuss (D-Wisc.), they worked out a vacuous compromise that would have encouraged American representatives to work for human rights without mandating their votes.

In a letter to Congress, Carter argued that the extension of the Harkin amendment would bring an "overly rigid approach that would subvert the integrity and effectiveness of the institutions by promoting economic and social development in the proper countries."

But the amendment's support in the House turned out to be widespread, from John Conyers (D-Mich.) to Birchir John Rousselot (R-Ca.). It was passed by voice vote. In addition, a move from the right to stipulate that American representatives could not vote for aid to Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam was defeated.

This stunning rebuke to Carter's pretensions on human rights may not stick when the House and Senate meet to combine their bills. Even if it does, a provision allowing aid if it is to be used for humanitarian principles may allow American representatives to sidestep the proviso. And even still, American representatives will be able to arrange majorities in favor of aid even when they cannot cast a "no" vote.

But a beginning has nevertheless been made on challenging the web of private international arrangements that has heretofore evaded public scrutiny.

Insult to injury

While Andrew Young proposed that the UN pledge a "collective effort" to eliminate South African apartheid, American arms producers continue to violate the UN embargo on arms to South Africa. In a special report from the Transnational Institute, Michael Klare shows how Italian arms companies that are partly American owned are selling American-designed planes with American-made engines to South Africa.

Recently, for instance, the South African Air Force purchased 20 AL-60 light transport planes from Aeromacchi of Milan. Aeromacchi is partly owned by Lockheed whose president sits on its board. The AL-60 is the same as the Lockheed-60, the American Avco Corporation supplies the engines.

To add insult to injury, the South African Air Force, according to Klare, has given most of these planes to the Rhodesian Air Force for their use in their anti-guerrilla war.

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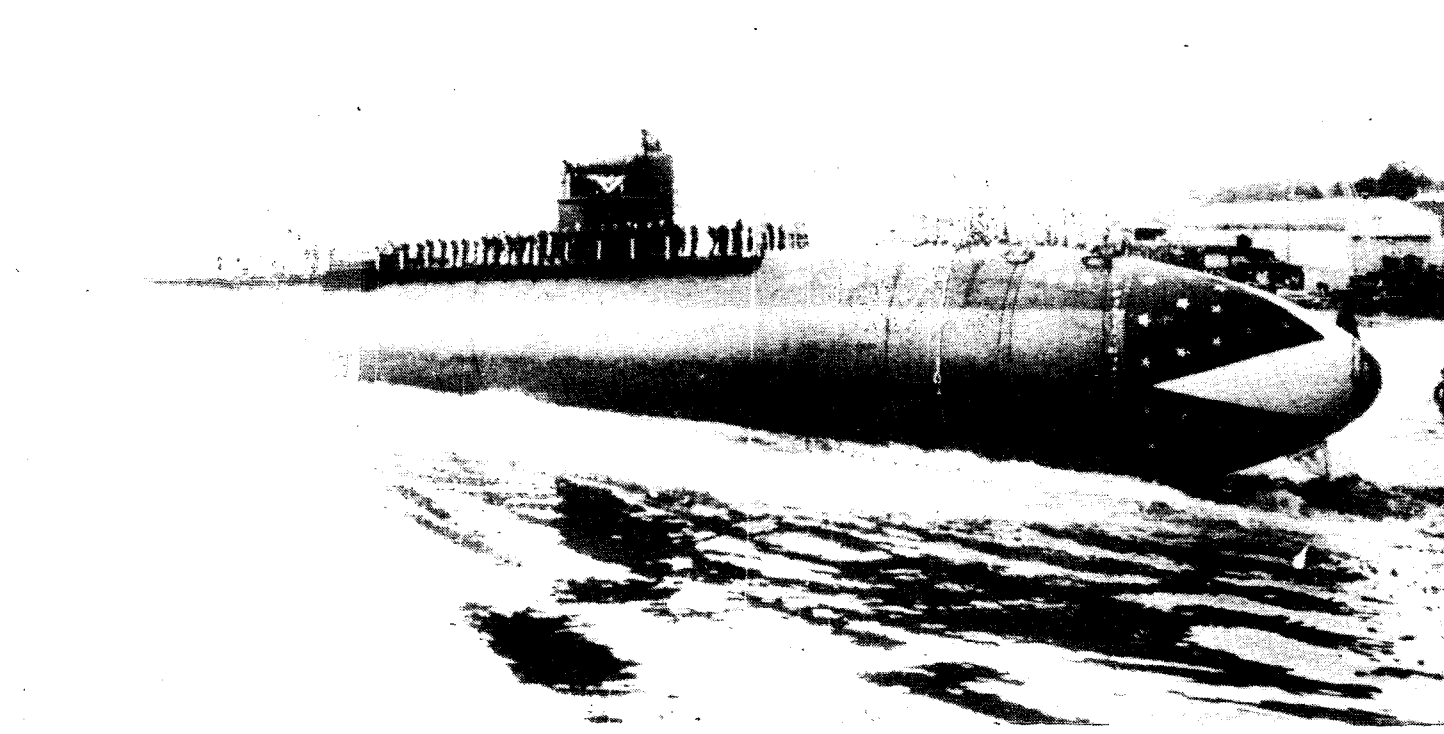
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FOREIGN RELATIONS

U.S. behind SALT breakdown



The Trident submarine and missile would continue to occupy an important place in the American arsenal.

Carter's SALT proposals would neither have stemmed the arms race nor given the Soviets the necessary assurance of continued arms equality.

by Banning Garrett
Internews

Jimmy Carter should not have been—and probably wasn't—surprised by the Soviet Union's rejection of his arms reduction proposals. The Carter "comprehensive proposal" that Secretary of State Cyrus Vance took to Moscow last month fell short of the "radical departure" that Carter promised.

Overall, the proposal favored American military capabilities. It would have maintained American technological superiority over the Soviet Union, reduced the Soviet quantitative advantages over the U.S. and shifted the nuclear arms competition to sea-based weaponry where the U.S. enjoys an enormous technological lead.

The proposal would also have had little effect on the spiraling U.S. arms budget. If accepted, it would have meant cuts of only \$140 million from the administration's present \$8 billion request for major new strategic weaponry. It would have allowed for substantial increases in the nuclear warheads deployed by each side.

The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) confirmed to IN THESE TIMES that the proposed SALT agreement would prohibit development of only one major American strategic weapon system, the MX missile, while allowing full production and deployment of all others, including the B-1 bomber and the Trident missile and submarine. It would also allow deployment of unlimited numbers of cruise missiles.

►Wide U.S. government support.

The Carter proposal appears to have been the outcome of a remarkable "bargaining" process within the U.S. Government. It had something for almost everyone in the U.S. government, winning it broad support—ranging from Pentagon and Congressional hawks to arms controllers and Congressional liberals.

The Joint Chiefs supported overall force reductions insofar as they favored the U.S. The Air Force would have lost the MX, but could have kept the B-1. The Navy would have kept the Trident and would have gotten sea-launched cruise

missiles. And the Army would have gotten ground-launched cruise missiles.

Congressional hawks as well as the Pentagon liked the proposal because it would have forced the Soviets to reduce their most threatening weapons, especially their "heavy" missiles, and because it would have maintained American technological superiority and a general strategic edge. Congressional doves and arms controllers also supported it because it would have reduced overall force levels and have limited ICBM development.

The Soviet Union, however, found little that was attractive in the American proposals. Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko accused the U.S. of seeking "unilateral advantage" in the Moscow SALT talks, and Communist party leader Leonid Brezhnev branded the proposals "one-sided" and called on Washington to come up with "mutually acceptable solutions."

►Soviets reject military disadvantage.

The primary Soviet objections to the reduction proposal were to its ban on modernization of ICBMs, its call for halving the number of Soviet heavy missiles, and its failure to halt development of American strategic cruise missiles.

The Soviets also objected to the American "fallback" position, which called for signing the 1974 Vladivostok accord without inclusion of cruise missiles or the Soviet Backfire bomber. The Soviets argue that an understanding had been reached with the Ford administration to include cruise missiles in the Vladivostok limits.

Soviet leaders apparently rejected the U.S. proposals on military grounds. But the vehemence of their rejection was almost certainly a reaction to both Carter's human right campaign and to his public announcement of the content of his reduction proposal before the Moscow talks began and then his attempt to achieve a "propaganda victory" after it was rejected.

Although there are some indications the administration is willing to consider altering its position when SALT talks resume in Geneva next month, Carter has promised to "hang tough" on the proposal.

He will be under strong pressure from hardliners not to compromise, and he will be urged to improve U.S. relations with Peking to pressure Moscow on SALT. The first public indication of such a move came last week in the announcement that Chip Carter would accompany a Congressional delegation leaving for China.

The Carter reduction proposal included the following provisions:

•**Cruise missiles:** The Carter proposal would have allowed virtually unrestrained development and deployment of strategic cruise missiles. The U.S. currently has at least a five-year lead in cruise missile technology. The proposal would have limited cruise missiles to a range of 1,500 to 2,000 miles, which coincides with U.S. plans, and would have allowed thousands of strategic cruise missiles with nuclear warheads to be deployed within striking range of the Soviet Union on submarines, surface ships, aircraft, and at ground sites.

•**Backfire bomber:** The proposal called for an "arrangement" to prevent deployment of the Soviet Backfire bomber as a strategic weapon. The Soviets maintain that Backfire is only a medium-range bomber, which should not be covered by SALT. The Pentagon argues that Backfire bombers could reach the U.S. if refueled in flight.

•**Nuclear warheads:** The Carter proposal would likely have led to an increase in the total number of warheads deployed by each side. Only the number of missiles with MIRVs (multiple independently targeted warheads) would have been limited—not the number of warheads on each MIRVed missile. The U.S. now has about 8,500 nuclear warheads (including bombs on strategic bombers) compared to some 3,300 warheads the Pentagon estimates that the Soviet Union deploys. While both sides could deploy more warheads, the U.S. lead would likely increase in the foreseeable future because of the enormous American superiority in MIRV technology.

•**"Heavy missiles":** The proposal would have placed a limit of 150 on the number of "heavy" land-based ICBMs (intercontinental ballistic missiles) that each side

could deploy. Although the U.S. has 54 Titan II ICBMs that might be classified as "heavy," this provision is aimed at the Soviet Union's 308 giant SS-9 and SS-18 ICBMs, half of which would have to be dismantled. The Pentagon argues that if MIRVed, these large missiles with their heavy payloads could pose a potential threat in the 1980s to destroy American ICBMs in a disarming first strike.

Heavy missile reductions along with overall reductions of ICBMs would substantially reduce the Soviet's quantitative advantage over the U.S. in total missile "throw-weight" or tonnage of nuclear warheads that their missiles could deliver on U.S. targets.

•**ICBM improvements:** The main qualitative thrust of the proposal was aimed at halting modernization of ICBMs. It would also have preserved the U.S. lead in ICBM technology. The proposal would have banned the development, testing and deployment of any new ICBMs, prohibited modification of existing ICBMs and limited each side to six ICBM test flights per year.

According to an ACDA spokesperson, the ban on modification of existing ICBMs would not have applied to warheads and guidance systems where the U.S. has the greatest advantage.

•**Sea-based systems:** The proposal's restrictions on development and deployment of ICBMs would not have been applied to submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs). The apparent intention was to force the Soviets to move their strategic nuclear forces to sea, where both sides' forces are currently considered invulnerable to a disarming first strike. Such a move theoretically would further have stabilized the nuclear balance by reducing foreign dependence on land-based ICBMs that are increasingly vulnerable to a U.S. first-strike—just as U.S. ICBMs are potentially vulnerable to a Soviet first-strike.

"Moving the missiles to sea" would also have preserved, if not have increased, the American technological lead over the Soviets and would have dovetailed with current plans for deployment of up to 16 giant Trident submarines and 544 Trident I missiles.

According to the Pentagon, the Soviets have more missile-carrying submarines than the U.S., an advantage of about 800 to 656 in the number of SLBMs, and greater range for some of their missiles than the currently-deployed American Poseidon missiles. But Soviet submarine and SLBM technology is significantly inferior to that of the U.S. Their submarines are noisier, and more easily detected, their missiles are far less accurate, and none of their missiles are MIRVed. American Poseidon missiles have up to 10 or more warheads each, and the Navy's Trident I will have even more warheads. In addition, the Navy is developing a new maneuverable warhead (MARV) that will provide extreme accuracy for the 6,000 mile Trident II missile planned for the late '80s. Such technological improvements would not be prohibited by the proposal.

•**Overall reductions:** The comprehensive proposal would have required substantially deeper cuts in Soviet strategic forces than in U.S. forces. It would have reduced the limit on the total number of missiles and bombers each side could deploy from 2,400—tentatively agreed to in the 1974 Vladivostok accord—to from 1,800 to 2,000. Given current deployments by each side, the U.S. would have to retire from 128 to 328 missiles or bombers, and the Soviet Union from 540 to 740. The Vladivostok ceiling on total MIRVed missiles also would be lowered, from 1,320 to 1,100-1,200. The U.S. currently has 1,046 MIRVed missiles and the Soviet Union 200 or less. The proposal would ratify current U.S. MIRV deployments and allow the Soviets to increase their total MIRVs, rather than reduce these weapons toward Soviet levels.

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IN THE NATION

ELECTIONS



Challenger Harold Washington (second from right, next to Jesse Jackson, far right) is given little chance of winning the Chicago race for mayor.

Daley's machine still on top in Chicago

Chicago. Mayor Richard Daley's days are over in Chicago, but the Daley ways linger on.

Voters will choose Daley's successor in a primary election on April 19. Since the Republican party is not a serious force in Chicago, the Democratic primary is all but the real election.

Six candidates are contesting for the Democratic nomination, but it is probably and understatement to say that Michael Bilandic, 53, is the favorite. He has been acting mayor since the machine, after Daley's death last Dec. 20, chose him for the office. His first pledge was not to run for mayor, so at least he's off to a traditional start by breaking his promise.

Other hallowed traditions have also been preserved. Aloof and arrogant, Bilandic refuses to attend candidate forums and debates or to submit to interviews. He has also been charged with a conflict of interest by voting as an alderman for city contracts that would enrich a firm for which he was legal counsel. And his supporters have been accused of throwing rocks through windows displaying opponents' signs.

Figuring that there are 30,000 patronage workers, each of whom is expected to deliver at least 10 votes, the simple function of the machine should give Bilandic close to what he needs to win. In addition he has the blessings of the regular organization, the business establishment, the vast majority of top labor union brass, the Daley worshippers among the clergy, and the *Chicago Tribune*.

The man sounds and looks like a thinner, slightly more articulate Dick Daley. Indeed, he learned at the master's feet. A wealthy attorney, Bilandic was slated in 1969 as alderman from the 11th Ward, Daley's turf and home of the past four Chicago mayors.

► Machine weakened.

But Bilandic is not Daley, and the loyalties that bound the machine together have been weakened. The two most significant challengers are Harold Washington, 54, a black state senator, and Roman Pucinski, 57, an alderman and former Congressman from the northwest side.

Pucinski will draw heavily on the 200,000-plus Polish voter bloc, one of the largest cohesive ethnic groups in the city which has bridled under the domination of the minority Irish in the 11th Ward who still run the machine.

Washington, an independent-minded member of the regular organization, represents the most promising force for change in the city, even though his impoverished and badly organized campaign is given little chance this time around. He has won the support of the Afro-American Patrolmen's League, PUSH (Jesse Jackson's organization) and most of the prominent black political leaders, with the significant exception of Rep. Ralph Metcalfe.

A feud with Metcalfe and disorganization and demoralization among black leaders, following a long, rancorous period of searching for a black candidate, hamper Washington. Black businessmen—many beholden to the machine or to white businessmen—have not given him much money.

Washington did get the support of the Independent Voters of Illinois, a small but important liberal group. "We're talking about a coalition involving Latinos, Appalachian whites—they're really in trouble—and liberals on the Lake Shore," Washington told the black caucus of the teachers' union last week. "All ethnics are invited to attend. This is the coalition that should run the city, because they are the majority. Now we control nothing, not even the land on which we stand."

Unfortunately for the coalition, there appears to be only lukewarm interest in the mayoral race among blacks, who are underregistered and probably will not turn out in large numbers—precisely what Bilandic hopes. White liberals also will probably go for Washington less enthusiastically than they did for liberal ex-alderman William Singer, who ran against Daley in 1975. Washington has been hurt by his conviction for failing to file income tax returns for four years, although in all those years taxes had already been deducted and in some cases he was owed a refund.

► A black mayor?

Polls show crime, jobs, city services, quality education, government responsiveness and public transit worrying voters most. But personalities, ethnicities and loyalties will decide the race. Most of the candidates stress greater service to the neighborhoods, in contrast with the Daley/Bilandic attention to downtown development.

If Bilandic wins as expected, he will have to work hard between now and 1969, the next regular election, to consolidate his hold on the machine, which includes several ambitious young men, and to patch up the troubled machine base.

"You'll see some fragmentation of power," Milton Rakove, author of *Don't Make No Waves, Don't Back No Losers*, says. "There will never be a Daley again." Power will gravitate toward the ward committeemen and to the heads of city departments, especially with the office of mayor and party chairman in different and precarious hands, he predicts. The machine will have to open up to bring in some of the more conservative community organizations, such as the Woodlawn Organization and the Westside Organization.

"Chicago will probably be governed worse than before," Rakove said, "but in some ways it may be better. What Daley didn't want to do, didn't get done. These people don't have that power. They will have to be responsive to community needs."

—David Moberg

Paul Soglin wins big in Madison mayoral election

By Judy Strasser

Madison, Wis. Madison's incumbent mayor Paul Soglin routed his conservative opponent, Antony "Nini" Amato last Tuesday in a stunning landslide victory nobody had predicted. Soglin, who came in second to Amato in the February primary, won more than 63 percent of the vote. He carried 20 of 22 aldermanic districts, winning big in blue collar and professional areas, as well as in the central city and student wards, his traditional strongholds.

Soglin's campaign began to click only after his 3,600-vote loss to Amato in the primary stunned complacent liberals into action. Many local leftists who had worked for socialist Michael Sack in February also joined Soglin's campaign. Sack himself refused to endorse either Soglin or Amato.

During the campaign, Soglin announced several city development programs including a senior citizens center, new housing, and a parking project considered essential by downtown businessmen.

In contrast, Amato continued to emphasize Soglin's "anti-business attitude," his failure to close down "commercial sex" establishments, and his alleged fiscal irresponsibility.

Soglin refuted each of Amato's three points. He charged that Amato's continual harping on the pornography issue was giving Madison a reputation as a national sex-for-sale capital. And he often pointed to the city's triple A bond rating, acquired during his term in office, as evidence of the city's financial stability. But it was Amato's own example of "fiscal irresponsibility"—city-funded daycare—that caused the issue to backfire. Amato's attack on subsidized daycare tuition for low-income families drew boos at virtually every candidate forum.

Nino Amato, however, does not believe that he lost the election on the issues. In the final weeks of the campaign, Madison newspapers placed the Amato family in a midwestern mafia web anchored in Chicago, Milwaukee and Des Moines. *Takeover*, a local underground newspaper, charged in mid-March that Amato's father Sam has a first cousin who is married to Frank P. Balistrieri, the reputed Milwaukee mafia boss. The *Capital Times* con-



Soglin's enormous margin surprised everybody, including himself.

firmed Balistrieri's apparent mob connections.

Amato admitted the Balistrieri relationship but denied that his father had business dealings with the alleged mobster or with the mafia. "I can't pick my relatives but I can pick my friends," the candidate told a campaign audience.

But a second *Takeover* story damaged Amato's defense. That story charged that Amato's family had a long-standing friendship with the late Luigi (Cock-eyed Louie) Fratto, a reputed Des Moines racketeer.

The Amato's acknowledged that Fratto's wife had been their house guest in 1967, while her husband was treated for cancer at Madison's University hospital. But they said they only learned of Fratto's involvement with organized crime from a newspaper obituary the day after the racketeer died.

Nino Amato says there is "an inherent fear" of the mafia in the U.S. that cost him the mayoral election. "Maybe if I had an Irish last name, things would have been different," he says. Maybe that fear re-elected Paul Soglin. Certainly the mayor's enormous margin over Amato astounded everybody—perhaps Soglin most of all. It came in a race many pre-election observers pronounced much too close to call.

John Lewis goes down big in Georgia congressional race

The only Deep South congressional seat held by a black person since Reconstruction days went white this week as Atlanta City Council president Wyche Fowler defeated civil rights activist John Lewis by a landslide in a runoff election in Georgia's 5th District. The seat, which had been held by UN ambassador Andrew Young, is considered an important showpiece of black electoral power in the South. Its loss to Fowler is considered to be both a blow to that power and, more specifically, to the ability of the Atlanta black Leadership Consortium to determine who will be elected in the city.

Early this year Lewis, former head of the Voter Education Project, was a strong favorite to win the 5th District seat. With the support of the Consortium, a civil rights background, and a strong reputation for honesty, Lewis seemed a natural successor to Young. However other blacks—including former SCLC president Ralph Abernathy and State Representative Billy McKinney—challenged Lewis and the power of the Consortium by declaring "renegade" candidacies. Although they did not get a significant number of votes in the general election two weeks ago, political confusion and recrimination in the black community apparently kept many

black voters at home while whites turned out in large numbers for Fowler.

When Fowler finished first in the general election (40 percent) with Lewis running a poor second (28 percent), it was clear that something would have to change for Lewis to have a chance in the runoff. But neither the candidate, afflicted with a mumbling speaking style, nor the campaign, equally afflicted with amateurism and poor decision making, was up to the task. During the two-week runoff campaign, the Lewis staff concentrated almost entirely on getting out the black vote. The results were a 65-35 landslide for Fowler.

Fowler is expected to be a political "Moderate," sympathetic to the defense establishment and major corporate interests.

Lewis does not consider himself finished as a congressional candidate. He points out that while Fowler has run several campaigns in the past, he is a newcomer. There will be another election in November of next year and Lewis says he will run then. If he is to have a chance of winning, however, he must learn some hard lessons from this past campaign.

—Jon Jacobs
Southern Bureau

LABOR

Teamsters expel two dissidents

There is widespread dissatisfaction among the members and the union leadership wants to intimidate us and stop TDU and PROD.

At last year's Teamsters convention in Las Vegas, a balding, barrel-chested warehouseman from Detroit stood up to oppose the election of Frank Fitzsimmons as union president. The lone vote was cast by Pete Camarata, a delegate from Local 299 and a national leader of the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU).

While union reformers picketed outside the convention hall, Camarata was roughed up inside for bucking the union establishment. He had presented motions to allow members to vote on local contracts and to lower the six-digit salaries of officers.

Last week in Detroit, Camarata and another TDU leader, Al Ferdnace, were expelled from the Teamsters for "participating in and supporting an unauthorized work stoppage" seven months ago. They immediately obtained a temporary restraining order against the Local's executive board, charging that the expulsion was politically motivated. On Saturday, April 3, several hundred Teamsters rallied to their defense in Detroit.

On April 6, Fitzsimmons and 2,000 union officers gathered in Washington, D.C.—in the headquarters some call the "marble palace"—to rally support for their policies in the face of government assaults and growing membership dissatisfaction. Outside, dissidents picketed and demanded that Fitzsimmons resign as union president.

One Teamster Business Agent in Scranton, Pa., reportedly told union members that this "war council" was going to initiate a national offensive against union dissidents, especially against TDU and PROD, the Professional Drivers Council.

"The officials called this meeting as a pep rally to step up the intimidation of the members," says TDU national secretary Ken Paff. "They know that there is widespread dissatisfaction in the membership and would like to stop the growth of TDU and other rank-and-file organizations. The expulsion of Pete and Al is part of this effort."

► Singled out.

According to the executive board of Local 299 which expelled Camarata and Ferdnace, their ouster stems from a wildcat strike of "car-haulers" at Automobile Transport Inc. in August 1976. Ferdnace, a working Teamster for 25

years, joined the walkout to protest a recent contract vote, in which, he says, less than half the eligible members voted, and many received no ballots.

Camarata, a dock worker and 10-year teamster, visited the car-haulers picket line on the last day of the strike to talk about the TDU. "The executive board charged me with conduct unbecoming a union member and claimed that since I'm a steward, I jeopardized the local," he told IN THESE TIMES. "In fact, I'm a steward at a freight terminal, which is under a different contract. I was out there simply as a concerned Teamster."

During the trial, Camarata presented sworn statements from more than 30 Teamsters that he had not helped to organize the wildcat or encouraged its continuation. Those who testified against him are business agents appointed by local union leaders.

"The main question is why Al and I were singled out," Camarata says. "The local keeps us in different divisions, so I didn't even know these car-haulers. Fifty-two were fired for the wildcat, presumably the leaders."

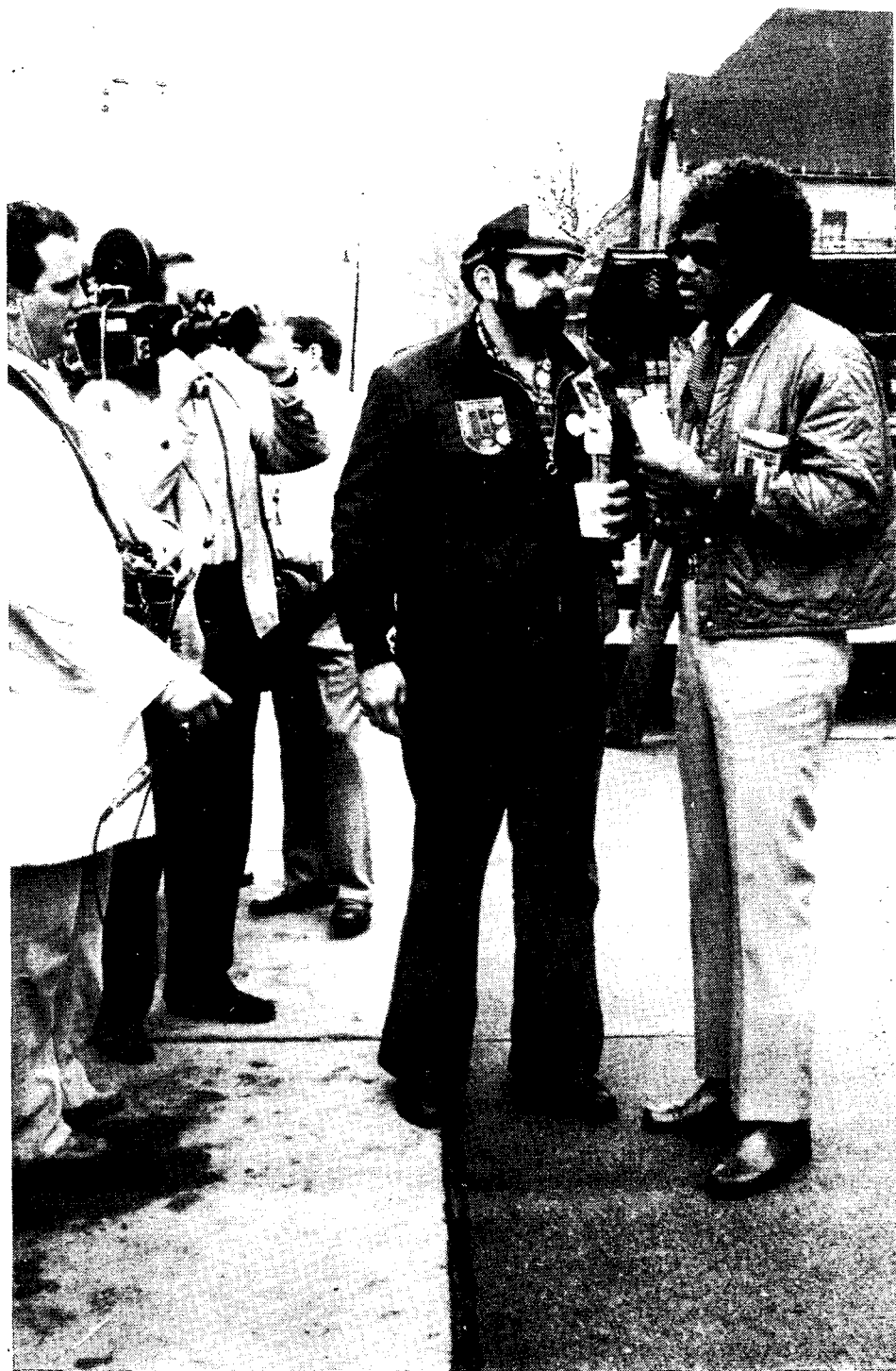
► "We're the real unionists."

The real reason for the expulsion, Camarata claims, is to halt a TDU campaign to reform the local's by-laws. "We're asking for elected business agents and stewards, regular monthly membership meetings, the right to elect rank-and-file committees and written financial statements," he says.

According to the Teamster constitution, by-law amendments are read at two consecutive meetings and voted on at the third. The TDU presented the amendments in January, after getting 1,000 signatures by local members. But union officers refused to read them.

At the February meeting, over 500 Teamsters packed the union hall and demanded that the amendments be read in March and April and voted on in May. Local 299 president Robert Lins agreed to abide by the members' unanimous vote.

The next morning Camarata and Ferdnace were charged by the executive board. If the expulsion sticks, Camarata will be ineligible to run for office in local elections next December. He is thought to be a major contender. With 14,000 members, Local 299—the home local of



Pete Camarata, center, and Al Ferdnace, right, at a demonstration in Detroit to protest their expulsion from the Teamsters.

Fitzsimmons and former president Jimmy Hoffa—is one of the most important in the union.

Camarata sees his expulsion as a signal that "the Teamster leadership is beginning to run scared." TDU has grown quickly in Detroit and now includes over 300 members. "They don't want people to vote on contracts or get involved in fights around working conditions on the job. They want people to come into work every day and not complain," he says.

The TDU, founded last year to democratize the Teamsters by mobilizing the

rank and file, is conducting by-law campaigns in other cities. "Fitzsimmons and other union leaders are under so much attack from the government right now that they certainly can't handle an organized rank and file," Camarata remarks. "Every place the TDU is organized we threaten their power. Fitzsimmons believes in business unionism and gangster unionism. But we're the real unionists. They're trying to get rid of me and Al quietly. But we're making as much noise as we can."

—Dan Marshall

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IN THESE TIMES



Elaine Noble, of the Massachusetts House of

Women in Law meeting upsets Wisconsin bar

By Judy Strasser

Madison, Wis. "We knew that it was going to blow people's minds if a bunch of dykes went to federal court with a civil rights case. And it did."

Holly Maguigan was addressing a controversial workshop on lesbian law at the Eighth National Conference on Women and the Law, held in Madison March 24-27. "I'm very cynical about the likelihood of finding justice in the courts," the young Philadelphia lawyer said. "My analysis is that you go to court when you have some other reason than the search for justice to take you there, because unless you're a white Anglo Saxon male, you're not likely to find fair and unfettered minds to hear your case."

Many of the 2,000 participants at the Women and the Law conference apparently shared Maguigan's cynicism, at least to some degree. Other workshop panelists and major speakers emphasized the legal system's bias against women, and suggested a variety of tactics women can use to take control of decisions affecting them.

Radical lawyers like Maguigan emphasized using the law, including civil law suits, as an organizing tool for gay rights, better day-care or equal employment practices. Others, like leading divorce reform advocate Herma Hill Kay, called for passage of non-sexist legislation, including the Equal Rights Amendment.

Elaine Noble, assistant majority leader of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, urged women to run for "all elective offices." She said, "There's no other way we'll get any legislation passed for women." Noble indicated that male legislators would have defeated the Equal Rights Amendment in Massachusetts last November but for the women who led the floor fight.

U.S. Representative Elizabeth Holtzman (D-NY) warned that sex discrimination will continue until large numbers of women are appointed and elected to public office. She reminded her audience of the recent Supreme Court decision that refusal to grant disability insurance to pregnant women is not sex discrimination. A court of nine women would never have arrived at a decision so obviously opposed to biological reality, Holtzman said.

The all-male Board of Governors of the

Wisconsin Bar Association had provided the Women and the Law conference with perhaps its best example of sexism in the legal system when it refused to contribute financially to the conference itself. James Hough, executive secretary of the state bar, said that financial problems and a lack of precedent contributed to the board's decision not to grant the \$2,500 recommended by its own finance committee. Hough added, in an interview with Madison's *Capital Times*, "I don't think there's any question but that the lesbian law section caused some problems [with some board members] on whether or not the board would lend its [financial] support."

Twelve workshops (out of more than 125) comprised the lesbian law section to which the governors objected. These workshops dealt with such problems as employment discrimination based on sexual preference and trial strategy for custody cases against lesbian mothers.

Other conference workshops ranged from discussions of legal theory behind the Equal Rights Amendment to personal sharing of the pleasures and pains of combining a legal career with motherhood.

Ironically, the Wisconsin Bar approved a large number of conference workshops—including several in the lesbian law section—for credit in its Continuing Legal Education (CLE) program. Wisconsin attorneys must earn a specified number of CLE credits each year in order to remain members of the bar.

University of Wisconsin law student Emily Mueller, who chaired the conference budget committee, noted that other state bar associations have contributed handsomely to previous Women and the Law conferences. (None of those conferences included formal discussions of lesbian law, however.) "They told us, if they funded us, then they'd have to fund Native Americans or 55-year-old white male Norwegian lawyers" who wanted to hold a conference, Mueller said.

Mueller agreed that the lesbian law section was a crucial, if unofficial, reason for the governors' decision. "It seemed to be a really volatile thing for them," she said. "We mentioned the word 'lesbian' and everybody got red."

Judy Strasser is a writer living in Madison.

GAYS

A make-or-break year for gay civil rights

The approach of gay reformers has been three-fold: use of judicial processes, repeal of repressive state laws, and legislative prohibitions against discrimination. . .

By Neil Miller

Homosexual activists around the country see 1977 as a "make or break" year for the gay civil rights struggle. For the first time, anti-discrimination legislation appears on the brink of passage in three states. A recent meeting of 14 gay representatives with aides to President Carter at the White House last month—another historic first—is a sign of recognition.

At the same time, a major anti-gay backlash seems to be developing across the country.

The approach of gay reformers has been three-fold: use of the judicial process to try to better the legal position of homosexuals, the repeal of state laws banning certain sexual activity between consenting adults and legislative and municipal protection for homosexuals in the areas of employment, housing, and public accommodations. In addition, an anti-discrimination measure that would protect gay people's civil rights has been introduced in the House of Representatives this year with 39 cosponsors.

► Supreme Court decision a roadblock.

The U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in a Virginia case last March that individual states have the constitutional right to make laws that ban private consensual sexual activity has emerged as a major roadblock in attempts to change the legal status of homosexuals by use of the judicial process. This decision has influenced a number of other judicial decisions and has steered many activists away from the courts.

The impact of the court's decision can be seen in liberal Washington, D.C., Justice Gerhard Gesell's ruling in the case of ousted Air Force Sgt. Leonard Matlovich. Although Gesell made clear his sympathetic position towards Matlovich and towards the situation of gay people within the armed forces, he cited the Supreme Court decision as a primary reason he could not overturn the Air Force's policy of discharging homosexuals.

Despite the high court's decision, there have been some lower court rulings in favor of gay rights. Only last month, the Federal District Court of Northern California ruled that the Navy's policy of issuing automatic discharges to homosexuals was a violation of due process. Although the court did not rule that the Navy had no right to discharge gays, the decision asserted that they must be on a case-by-case basis.

Other judicial action has been mixed. Two months ago, the Washington State Supreme Court ruled that a teacher could legally be dismissed because of homosexuality (See accompanying story.) Activists are clearly nervous about appealing a case like the Washington one to the U.S. Supreme Court for fear that the conservative court will strengthen its previous decision.

► Shift to pressure on elected officials.

With progress through the judicial system in doubt, the gay establishment is increasingly putting its hopes on the support of elected officials. As the centerpiece of the strategy, activists emphasize the power of the gay vote and many Democratic party politicians have apparently been convinced by this argument: Every major Democratic presidential candidate—with the exceptions of Henry Jackson and George Wallace—sought the gay vote last year.

Even a man as conservative on sexual

matters as Jimmy Carter promised to sign the national gay rights bill. Last month's meeting between gay representatives and Carter aide Margaret (Midge) Costanza indicates that Carter may be held to this campaign promise.

The primary target of legal change continues to be the state legislatures. Eighteen states have repealed their sodomy laws, but in every case except one (California), this repeal has been done quietly through general law reform packages.

This tactic of a low profile for sodomy reform reached an amusing height last year when it was revealed that New Hampshire's gay-baiting governor, Meldrin Thomson, was unaware that by signing a rape reform package, he had eliminated the state's penalties against gay sexual acts. Thomson only learned what he had done when it was brought to his attention by the gay press; but the governor had not tried to reintroduce legal penalties for the "crime against nature."

By contrast, the Arkansas legislature—once it learned that it had been "duped" has moved to reimpose penalties for "deviant sexual activity." The state's House of Representatives voted 66-2 to restore the Arkansas sodomy prohibitions last month, and the Senate is expected to follow suit. A similar move in the Indiana legislature died in committee.

► Optimism in several states.

Activists are optimistic that three states—Massachusetts, Oregon and Minnesota—will pass anti-discrimination laws this year. (At present no states have laws protecting gay people from discrimination in housing, jobs, and public accommodations.)

Efforts in Massachusetts and Minnesota are helped by the presence of openly gay legislators—Rep. Elaine Noble in Massachusetts and Sen. Allen Spear in Minnesota. Noble has assiduously cultivated close relations with the Democratic leadership in the Massachusetts legislature and she is confident that a bill banning discrimination against homosexuals in private employment will be approved this year. But the vulnerability of Noble's strategy of good relations "at the top" was emphasized recently when her political ally, Sen. James Kelly, was named as an "unindicted co-conspirator" in a widely-reported corruption case.

Thirty-nine municipalities have passed gay rights protection laws—including San Francisco, Los Angeles, Washington, D.C., and Austin, Texas. Tucson, Ariz., became the most recent municipality to protect gay rights, a decision given some impetus when a local judge sentenced four high school students to probation in the murder of a gay activist.

► Backlash in Dade County.

The passage of an anti-discrimination ordinance in Florida's Dade County has set off a backlash that many fear will disrupt further progress. After the Miami Metro Commission passed anti-bias safeguards by a 5-3 vote on Jan. 18, religious fundamentalist groups—led by orange juice publicist and "born again" Christian Anita Bryant—began a petition drive to force a county-wide referendum on the ordinance. The coalition, called Save Our Children Inc., charges gays with attempting to "recruit" heterosexual youth. It garnered almost 60,000 signatures to force a June 7 recall vote.

Faced with a legal quandary in which it

(Continued on next page.)

GAYS

Firing of gay teacher arouses Tacoma

No evidence was presented that Gaylord had committed a single illegal or immoral act. He had not used his classroom to proselytize for gay rights nor made advances to his students.

By Doug Honig and Hal Nelson

Should teachers have the right to choose their own life style? The Washington State Supreme Court has said "no" in a ruling that Jim Gaylord, a gay teacher in Tacoma, is unfit to teach public school children. The court found that homosexuality is immoral and that public knowledge of it would render Gaylord ineffective.

The January decision ended more than four years of legal wrangling that began when Gaylord answered a knock at his front door one October night in 1972. He was confronted by his vice-principal with allegations from a former student that Gaylord was a homosexual. The student had once held a lengthy personal discussion with Gaylord, from which he had inferred that Gaylord was gay.

Gaylord admitted it. He had been a successful social studies teacher at Wilson High for the previous 12 years. His professional file bulged with favorable evaluations, the most recent citing his "high standards and thorough teaching." He had carefully kept his private life separate from school. What difference should his sexual orientation make to his ability to teach?

Gaylord found out soon enough. In November the Tacoma school board notified him that he was to be dismissed from Wilson. Determined to keep his job, Gaylord took his case to the board, to the Pierce County Superior Court, and ultimately to the Washington Supreme Court. Each time his firing was upheld.

Writing for the state supreme court majority, Judge Charles Horowitz drew on sources ranging from the Kinsey Report to the New Catholic Encyclopedia to show that homosexuality is "widely condemned as immoral and was so condemned during biblical times." While conceding that it is not a disease, he cited a psychiatrist's testimony that homosexuality has been "a frightening idea" in our society. Horowitz concluded that allowing a known homosexual on a teaching staff would cause "fear, confusion, suspicion, parental concern, and pressure."

► No evidence of any wrongdoing.

No evidence was presented that Gaylord had committed a single illegal or immoral act. He had not used his classroom to proselytize for gay rights nor had he made advances to his male students. His "crime" seems to have been his honesty in freely acknowledging his sexuality and his membership in the Dorian Society, a gay organization. As Al Brisbois, president of the Washington Federation of Teachers, explains, "The logic used by the court allows a teacher to be fired on the basis of mere speculation about past personal conduct and future teaching efficiency."

Make-or-break

(Continued from previous page.)

must either allocate \$400,000 for the referendum or rescind gay civil rights protection altogether, the Miami Metro Commission is considering an outright repeal of the ordinance. The powerful *Miami Herald*—which had supported gay rights—urged the repeal of the ordinance in an editorial entitled "Gay Rights Is Not a \$400,000 Issue."

Washington law does hold that immorality is sufficient grounds for firing a teacher. But the law is vague as to what "immorality" means, giving free rein to the prejudices of public officials. As Judge James Dolliver commented in a dissenting opinion, "The opportunities for industrious school boards seem unlimited."

The Gaylord decision adds fuel to the recent backlash over gay rights. David Harrison, executive director of the Washington branch of the American Civil Liberties Union, calls it "Outrageous—the worst decision in the long struggle to win constitutional protection for gay citizens." Washington gay activists believe the decision is already having a chilling effect on thousands not yet "out of the closet."

The local gay community has not taken the decision quietly. Public meetings, including a symposium on "Gays and Work" have been held at the University of Washington. And a bill has been introduced in the state legislature to prohibit discrimination against gays in housing and employment. Sponsored by a bipartisan group of 11 legislators, it has drawn supporters ranging from Seattle's mayor to the Washington Association of Churches.

► Broad impact.

The potential impact of the Gaylord decision reaches far beyond the gay community. In his dissent, Judge Dolliver suggested that the same logic which finds a teacher "inefficient" could equally apply to blacks or women.

"It affects all of us in one way or another," points out Al Brisbois as he explains that a teacher's right to privacy is at stake. Any unorthodox teacher—say, a socialist living in a communal house—could provoke the "parental concern and pressure" the court cited to justify Gaylord's firing.

Though he likens his situation to *Alice in Wonderland's*, Gaylord intends to continue his fight. The support he's received from fellow teachers is encouraging. The Tacoma Federation of Teachers and its affiliates have footed the bills for his legal battles, and he's supporting himself through a part-time job with the Tacoma local.

Gaylord is filing a petition for a rehearing of his case with the Washington Supreme Court and is prepared to go to the federal courts if necessary. He is cautiously optimistic about the future, though he realizes that months more of waiting lie ahead. And he can still smile, managing to find some humor in the Catch 22 logic of the courts thus far. "Without my sense of humor," Gaylord observes, "I wouldn't have been able to survive."

Doug Honig writes for the *Northwest Passage*, the Puget Sound region's alternative newspaper. Hal Nelson writes for the *Seattle Gay News*.

The wealthy Miami gay community has offered to attempt to underwrite the \$400,000 to save the ordinance but it is doubtful that they can raise that amount of money.

Several incidents of violence have come in the wake of the Dade County anti-gay campaign, including the firebombing of the cars and homes of gay supporters. So



Jim Gaylord

Being gay no more immoral than being left-handed

ITT: When you first discovered you were going to be fired, what made you decide you were going to fight?

Gaylord: I didn't think I could live with myself if I didn't. I knew it would be unpleasant to fight but it would be more unpleasant not to.

How did your firing affect your relations with students, other teachers and personal friends?

Anyone who had anything to say to me directly, and that included anonymous letters and phone calls, was supportive. My fellow teachers and my straight friends were my strongest support. Former students offered to do what they could.

Did you feel your membership in the Dorian Society (a gay organization) would be a risk to your teaching career?

I was under the impression that people could join organizations they wanted to join and that freedom of association actually existed. Apparently the courts don't think much of the Constitution when it's convenient for them to ignore it.

What is your reaction to being called an immoral person by the state supreme court?

Let me put it this way. The school board policy under which I was fired—"immorality"—is totally un-

defined. I don't conceive of homosexuality as being immoral any more than I think that left-handedness is immoral. It is just a natural variation in human behavior. I consider myself a moral person.

At my trial I testified that I felt comfortable with my sexual orientation and I had no desire to change it. Apparently that horrified the school board and my judges.

How did being gay affect your teaching?

I never considered it relevant. I was a teacher who happened to be gay and I didn't see any connection between the two.

How has what you've been through affected you?

I've been radicalized by the experience, though I still plan to operate "within the system." Until the Supreme Court decision, I tried to keep a low profile. Now I can do what I feel is most helpful. When I was asked to testify in Olympia on the gay rights bill this week, I did.

Has your fight been worth the price you're paying?

Yes! And I intend to go on with it. I want my job back. I spent a lot of time and money becoming a teacher. I did a good job teaching and should be allowed to do it again.

many threats have been received by some gay rights organizations that they have had to ask for—and receive—police protection.

A note of tragedy was introduced with the suicide of Ovidio Ramos of the Latin Committee for the Human Rights of Gays following an appearance on a Spanish language telephone call-in in which he received a very hostile response.

The growing power of the anti-gay backlash cannot be discounted. The New Hampshire legislature is presently considering a bill to make it illegal for

homosexuals to "consort" in public. The bill is expected to pass the State Senate and should it pass the House as well, Gov. Meldrin Thomson is certain to sign it. In Pennsylvania, a bill outlawing homosexuals to hold certain state jobs—teacher, state police officer, mental health worker and the like—successfully was reported out of committee and is expected to pass the State Senate by a lopsided vote. Gov. Milton Shapp's strong opposition killed a similar bill last year.

Neil Miller is editor of *Gay Community News*, a weekly newspaper published in Boston.

IN THE WORLD

WEST GERMANY

Difficult days ahead for Schmidt SPD

Special to In These Times
from Frankfurt, West Germany
By Brigitte Kirch and Bill Hansen

Frankfurt. The increasingly shaky coalition government of Chancellor Helmut Schmidt that has ruled West Germany since the late 1960s came under further attack last month as it suffered a series of stunning blows that may well jeopardize its capacity to stay in power much longer.

Since it narrowly won in national elections last October with a vastly reduced majority of ten seats in the Bundestag, the Social Democratic party-Free Democratic party coalition hold on power has become more and more tenuous.

On March 19 and 29 the Social Democratic party (SPD) was jolted by a municipal election loss in the state of Hessen, the takeover of its youth wing by a Marxist faction, and a three-hour battle characterized as a civil war between thousands of police and demonstrators protesting the government's policy of building nuclear reactors. Also continuing revelations of government bugging have surfaced over the last several months.

► Loss in Red Hessen.

The most staggering setback was the loss of a ruling majority and the mayor's office in Frankfurt, largest city in the state of Hessen and financial and commercial center of West Germany. Sometimes called Red Hessen, the state has long been considered the center of left-wing German politics.

Even during the quarter century of extreme anti-communism immediately following the end of the war, when Konrad Adenauer's Christian Democratic Union (CDU) was in firm control of the federal government, the SPD was the dominant force in Frankfurt. When the CDU's Walter Wallman takes Rudi Arndt's place as Frankfurt Oberbürgermeister he will be the first non-SPD mayor since the end of the American military occupation period.

In all of Hessen's major cities—Frankfurt, Wiesbaden, Darmstadt, Giessen, Offenbach—and many of the smaller towns, the CDU displaced the SPD.

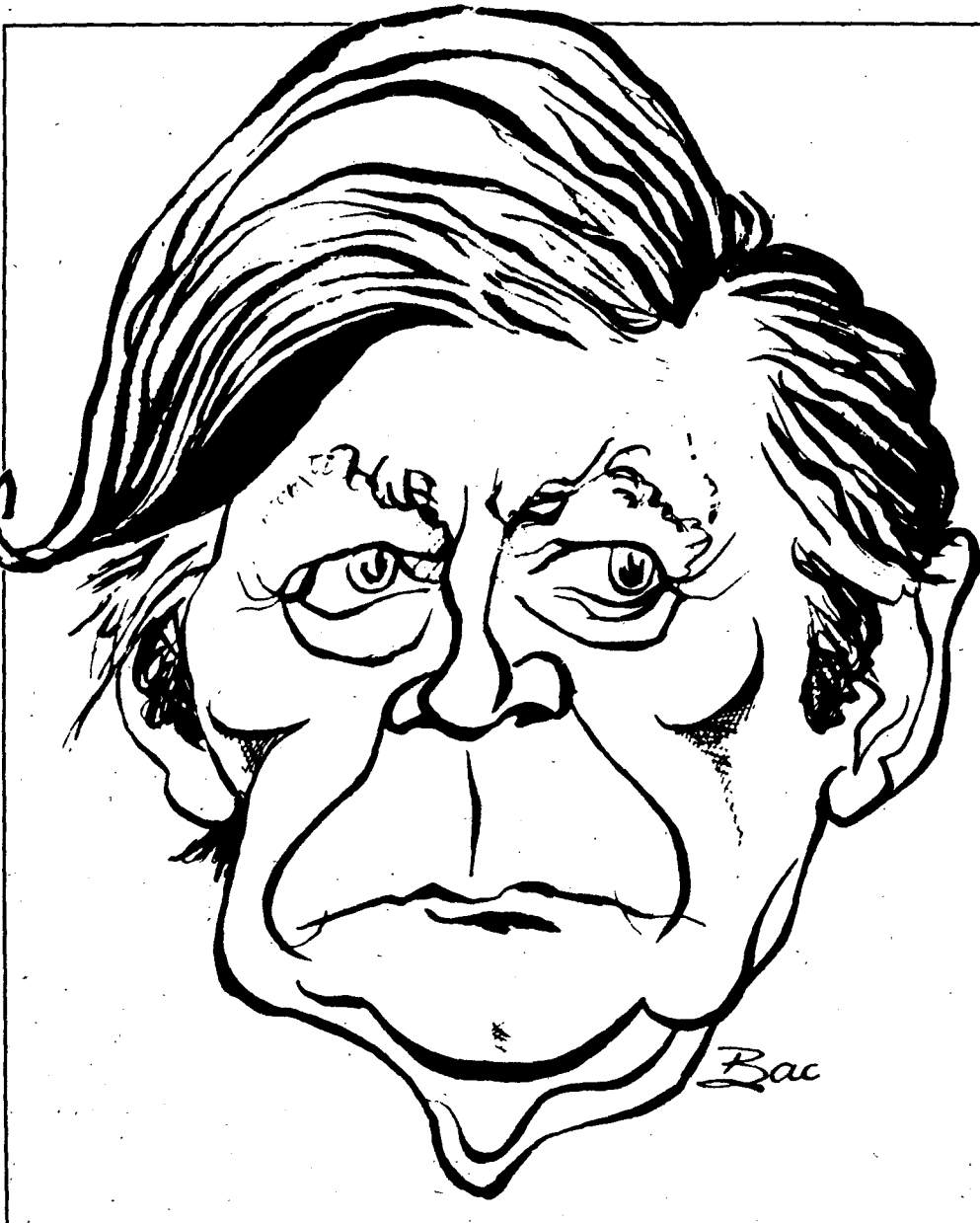
The leader of the opposition in the Bundestag, Helmut Kohl, immediately referred to the Hessen elections as a sign of no-confidence in the Schmidt government and questioned its capacity to continue governing. At the same time the CDU continued its policy of trying to lure the Free Democratic party (FDP) away from the government and back to the CDU/FDP grouping that had run West Germany until the mid-sixties.

To argue, however, that the recent Hessen elections represent a "major swing to the right," as has been suggested by some commentators, misses much of the point. Although the SPD is a social democratic labor party and the CPU can claim the support of most German businessmen, the policy differences between them are often exaggerated. The CDU hardly proposes dismantling the elaborate system of social legislation existing in Germany or any real change in German foreign policy. Nor does the SPD, despite its claims of being a socialist party, have any intention of eliminating the corporate dominance of the West German state and moving toward socialism. Both parties are firmly committed to the maintenance of the western alliance, international capitalism, and anti-communism.

Much of the vote for the CDU represented disgust on the part of the electorate with SPD management rather than a basic rightward shift in political orientation.

► Betrayal on pensions.

Schmidt, whose rather severe demeanor and hauteur comes short of inspiring an



Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's Social Democrats are reeling from recent election defeats, bugging scandals, mass demonstrations against their policy of building nuclear reactors, and the capture by Marxists of their youth branch.

enthusiastic following, campaigned long and hard in last fall's national elections on the issue of raising old-age pensions that had been affected by inflation. While West Germany's inflation rate has been the lowest of all western countries, it has still created problems for those living on fixed incomes. This campaign promise of increasing pensions is credited with giving the government its majority.

Shortly after the election Schmidt was forced to announce that there would be no pension increases because there was simply no money. This admission was met with outrage on the part of the voters and charges of crass opportunism from the CDU opposition. Since it was obvious that the Chancellor knew before the election how much money was available, it appeared to many that he had been lying. Faced with this stormy backlash, Schmidt was forced to reverse his field again and agree to pension increases effective in July of this year, despite government projections that anticipate a steep deficit in the pension fund by 1980.

This incident served to change Chancellor Schmidt's image from that of a cool, calm leader in total control at all times, to one who has become increasingly unsure of himself in running the government.

The continuing recession and inflation have also had a severe impact on the status of the SPD/FDP government. Memories of rampant unemployment and recession during the days of the Weimar Republic have not been erased from German consciousness. While most western countries would be pleased with the West German level of inflation, it creates severe political strains here.

► Government bugging exposed.

Recent exposures of extensive government bugging of political dissidents has also caused great embarrassment to the Schmidt regime. Interior Minister Werner Maihofer has admitted that he authorized the electronic surveillance of the home of

prominent nuclear physicist Klaus Traube, accused of having extensive contacts with political radicals. Maihofer is a leading member of the coalition's junior partner. His removal could cause the FDP to pull out, causing the government to fall.

The scandal widened a few weeks later when it was revealed that the prison cells of "Stammheim trial" defendants had been bugged, enabling the authorities to overhear conversations with their lawyers. The highly publicized and costly trial involves members of the so-called "Baader-Meinhof Gang" (the Red Army Faction) who are now going into the second year of trial in Stuttgart on charges connected with several bombings at American military installations in Frankfurt and Heidelberg in 1972. The bombings were in protest of U.S. bombings in Vietnam, and several American soldiers were killed.

Then in quick succession the government was forced to admit that it had bugged the office of two prominent left-wing lawyers in Frankfurt as well as the cell of another political radical facing trial in Zweibrücken.

These repeated exposures have seriously called into question the credibility of the government. The outgoing head of the SPD's powerful youth wing, Heidemarie Wiczorek-Zeul, characterized the buggings as "Watergate with German thoroughness."

► Nuclear power demonstrations.

On the day before the election in Hessen, 4,500 state police and federal border guards engaged in a three-hour pitched battle with 3,000 angry protesters at the small town of Grohnde, south of Hannover in the state of Niedersachsen. The demonstrators were protesting the construction of a nuclear power plant. 240 police were injured—80 of them seriously. 26 were arrested with four of them charged with attempted manslaughter.

The government in typical fashion blithely dismissed the trouble as caused

by "hardcore communists." Niedersachsen Minister-President Ernst Albrecht, who observed the battle from a hovering helicopter, said later, "People who oppose the police in this fashion are nothing but criminals."

The demonstration at Grohnde was almost an exact replica of that last fall at another reactor site in the town of Brokdorf in the far northern state of Schleswig-Holstein. Similar demonstrations have occurred at another proposed site in the southern state of Baden-Württemberg near the university city of Freiburg.

► Marxist youth wing.

The weekend of the Hessen election, the always fractious youth wing of the SPD, called JUSOS (Young Socialists), had their convention in Hamburg. In a narrow victory the Marxist wing elected Berlin lawyer Klaus Uwe Benneter as new head of Germany's "state monopoly capitalism," and the convention was characterized by a deep disagreement between this "Stamokap" wing of the JUSOS and the faction loyal to the main tenets of the Social Democratic party policies.

Egon Bahr, a high Bonn government official and SPD functionary, told the convention that the SPD welcomed continued attempts on the part of the JUSOS to make it feel "uncomfortable" but warned simultaneously that any attempt to force a left coalition that would include Communists would most certainly lead to a break with the mother party. Benneter was elected on a platform that urged closer interaction and cooperation with the Communists.

Thus, under attack from both the left and the right, amid charges of political chicanery, lying, invasion of privacy, and mismanagement of the economy, the future of the Schmidt government seems more and more in doubt.

Brigitte Kirch and Bill Hansen are journalists in Frankfurt.

NORTHERN IRELAND



Tension continues in Northern Ireland.

Photos on this page © P. Michael O'Sullivan from "Patriot Graves."

Industrialists "fair game" as guerilla war escalates

By Mike Davis

In a rare interview a few weeks ago, Seamus Twomey, veteran leader of the Provisional IRA, announced an open season upon the managers of British and multinational capital in Northern Ireland. "All British industrialists are targets. They are exploiting the Irish working class. . . . everyone directly connected with British imperialism are definite targets."

Twomey's threat has become grim fact. In less than a month Provo hit squads have assassinated four leading Northern Ireland businessmen. The first to die was Jeffrey Agate, well-known chief of Du Pont operations in Derry. His murder was an omen that the IRA has also included the local managements of the 36 U.S. firms producing in Ulster in their list of corporate "fair game."

Now there is a growing panic in executive suites across Northern Ireland. Private company security has been drastically increased, while some management personnel are already reported to be packing their bags. After the Agate shooting a group of prominent American and German businessmen who were scheduled to appear on a special BBC program to explain "why they had confidence in the Ulster economy" cancelled the show and refused to be photographed or interviewed.

All of this could not have come at a worse time for hardpressed government leaders who have been desperately trying to attract new foreign investment to Northern Ireland. Last fall the Treasury attempted to suppress a high-level survey of the economy (the Quigley Report) because it contained such a dismal prog-

nosis for the future. Even Roy Mason, the tough Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, has admitted that he is as worried about the condition of the economy as about security problems.

►A short-lived boom.

Although not a day goes by without new bombings of economic targets, the crisis of the Ulster economy cannot be blamed solely on the present troubles. For half a century—since the partition of Ireland in 1921—the North has faced chronic depression resulting from the decline of demand for its traditional products: linen, ships, and textile machinery. The province's industrial bosses aggravated the crisis by exporting their profits overseas to Britain or the U.S. rather than using them to modernize the outmoded industries of Belfast.

In the early '60s, however, multinational capital began to be attracted to Northern Ireland by its "halcyon" labor relations and low wages (the historic results of sectarian division within the working class). Ulster seemed a secure refuge from the growing trade union militancy that was threatening profits in Scotland and England. As new investors opened dozens of branch plants, there was widespread talk about an Ulster "economic miracle" along the lines of a European Taiwan or Hong Kong.

Now this shortlived boom is collapsing under the dual pressures of local warfare and a stagnant world economy. Ever since Aristotle Onassis unloaded his controlling interest in Belfast's giant Harland and Wolff shipyards a few years ago, capital has tended to pull out from the North altogether. In the last year alone, a string of leading British firms (Rolls-Royce, ICL, etc.) have voted with their feet and shut down production in Ulster.

By most accounts, then, Northern Ireland is plunging into a slump with little hope of recovery or perhaps even stabilization. Its growing unemployment rate is already the highest in Western Europe. One in nine is jobless; another one in nine is under-employed; and a further one in nine holds a job that only exists thanks to huge government subsidies.

►Walls still boast "Provo Rule!"

Predictably, the Catholic working class

With the current economic crisis, it is not surprising that ghetto teenagers continue to replenish the IRA ranks.

(34 percent of the population) has been the hardest hit. As a result of historic patterns of discrimination in employment and government spending, the jobless rate in Catholic areas is twice as high as in most Protestant districts.

Unemployment is the highest—35-50 percent—in those grim Belfast ghettos where the walls still boast "Provo Rule!" Despite the casualties of seven years of costly guerilla warfare and over 1500 political prisoners, the IRA retains firm roots amongst the unemployed youth of poverty-stricken and embattled ghettos like Ballymurphy (where the "peace women" were mobbed), Shortstrand (the lone Catholic enclave in East Belfast), and Ardoyne (where the Irish tri-color brazenly flies).

Although last year's large "peace" demonstrations expressed deep resentment by ghetto dwellers against the IRA's wanton hijackings and bombings, they have failed to destroy the Provo's support among youth. Taking advantage of the peace women's failure to fight the daily violence of the British Army, the Provisionals staged an impressive series of counter-rallies (5,000-20,000 supporters) in defense of political prisoners and for "Peace with Justice."

Since even some government leaders are beginning to admit that the current economic crisis precludes substantial reform, it is not surprising that ghetto teenagers continue to replenish the ranks of the IRA. The Provisional leadership believes that it is finally within reach of forcing a British withdrawal, and there is much talk about the coming "all-out offensive." The assassination campaign is only part of an overall escalation of guerilla warfare—including more bombings in English cities—designed to make Northern Ireland ungovernable and impossibly expensive for Westminster.

►Protestants for an independent Ulster.

On the other side of the sectarian divide, a growing sentiment among Protestants for an independent Ulster seems to corroborate trends pointing to a possible British withdrawal. The current Ulster "nationalist" movement is a dramatic and unprecedented phase in the history of Northern Ireland. For 150 years the link with Britain has been the unquestioned and sacrosanct pillar of Protestant (i.e. "Unionist" or "Loyalist") politics.

An important group of Protestant paramilitary and community leaders—the Ulster Loyalist Central Co-ordinating Committee (ULCCC)—has called for British withdrawal and the establishment of an independent Ulster republic. Under the slogan "Ulster can survive unfettered," they are appealing for communal reconciliation through "a new common allegiance to Ulster" rather than to Britain or Ireland. They are also arguing that independence provides the only path for "the development of a new political structure on left/right lines."

The worsening economic situation has been a powerful force in promoting this new Ulster nationalism. Protestants widely fear that London is planning to end the massive subsidies (over \$150 million) that have kept Belfast shipyards and their 10,000 Protestant craftsmen at work. ULCCC leaders believe that Westminster is at "the brink of economic disaster" and that Ulster would get a better deal as an independent member of the Common Market rather than as a backwater of the United Kingdom.

The emergence of the ULCCC marks a significant "unfreezing" of the political situation. Although it is highly unlikely that Catholics will accept an ersatz Ulster nationality, the ULCCC proposals at least open up space for the exchange of political perspectives across the divide that sepa-

(Continued on next page.)



Hunger Strike

Fifteen men, including Daithi O'Connell, left, and Kevin Mallon, right, have been on a hunger strike since March 7th at Port Laoise prison in the south of Ireland. They are protesting the outlawing

of the Sinn Fein party. There has been a news blackout on the situation imposed by Connor Cruise O'Brien, British minister of Post and Telegraph.

THE MIDDLE EAST

Part IV of IV

'We have no real friends on either side'

By T.D. Allman
Pacific News Service

Jerusalem. Since the bloody Palestinian defeat by Jordan's King Hussein in Black September 1970, Israel has had one irrefutable response to criticisms of its treatment of the Palestinians. It is that the Arabs have treated the Palestinians even worse.

There are no mass graves of slaughtered Palestinians in the Gaza, as there are in Beirut's Tel Zaatar camp, demolished by Syrian and Lebanese Christian forces last year. The Palestinians on the Israeli bank of the Jordan River are freer than the Palestinians on the Jordanian side.

While Palestinians in Israel openly denounced a government report calling them inferior to Jews, the jails of Syria filled up with Palestinians who opposed President Assad's intervention in Lebanon.

Israeli troops killed 26 Palestinians during last year's protests. Perhaps 8,000 Palestinians, mostly civilians, were killed during the Lebanese civil war.

As Israel Koenig, governor of Israel's northern region, conceded in his report critical of the Palestinians, "the lack of tolerance shown by the middle-class Jew toward the Arab citizen . . . can amount to real hatred." But that hatred is muted in contrast to the vicious anti-Palestinian statements one frequently hears in Amman, Damascus and Christian Lebanon.

"It is a simple truth," observed Mohammed Hasan Mulhim, the Palestinian mayor of the West Bank town of Halhul, "that our only free elections have been held under the Israelis. Our ambition is not to have one occupation force replaced by another."

His Jericho colleague, Mayor Abed El Aziz El-Sweity, expressed a similar view. "We Palestinians know we have no real friends on either side," he said. "That is why we want a state of our own."

In Damascus, PLO Executive Committee Secretary-General Mohammed Nashashibi said, "There are two kinds of Palestinians: those ruled by Israel and those ruled by Arabs. Why do you think we (the PLO) get such support from both? Our people want something better than either alternative."

Last year, when President Hafiz al-Assad sent troops of Saiqa (the Syrian-controlled Palestinian group) into Lebanon as a counterforce to the PLO, Saiqa soldiers deserted their Syrian officers en masse to join troops loyal to Yasser Arafat, and Saiqa commander Musbah Budayri was captured by PLO units.

►A dual struggle.

Everywhere one hears Palestinians say they want no part of a Saiqa-like Palestinian state, even if the Israelis should permit it the trappings of sovereignty. "Our struggle always has been a dual struggle," says Khalil Al-Wazi, a major PLO strategist and one of the founders of Fateh, the Palestine National Liberation Movement. "The struggle against the Israelis gets the most attention. But the struggle for Arab recognition of our rights has been much more costly."

PLO officials in Beirut say twice as many Palestinians have been killed by Arabs as by Israelis since their struggle

PALESTINIANS THE MIDEAST'S NEW JEWS?



Palestinians training in Lebanon.

began. And Al-Wazi points out that the first casualty of the Palestinian national movement was a commando named Ahmed Mousa, who was killed on Jan. 7, 1965, by the Jordanian army. That date ever since has been commemorated as Martyr's Day, and regarded by Palestinians as the beginning of the struggle for their emancipation.

Arab opposition to independent Palestinian action has had another important effect. "Israel destroyed our national rights," one PLO official said. "But what we want from the Israelis is justice, not revenge. It is the savagery of Black September and Tel Zaatar that never will be forgotten. As for the Syrians, we feel deep regret at having to fight them, a deep sadness that things in Lebanon had come to that."

Whether the Palestinians wanted to fight President Assad's troops or not, the Syrian intervention closed the circle of Palestinian disenchantment with the Arab states. Yet Lebanon does not appear to have been as devastating as Black September.

"The Palestinians still have a force in being," one high-ranking U.S. diplomat recently observed. "Today the PLO has more weapons and more troops than it did a year ago. President Assad probably could not get rid of Arafat if he tried."

The American official concluded: "The PLO remains the most powerful force in Lebanon, except for the Syrian army."

►Arab/Israeli unity against Palestinians.

Even though they would be unlikely to

admit it, Israel's Gen. Maimon in Gaza, Syria's President Assad, Gov. Koenig in Galilee and King Hussein in Jordan are united by their respective Palestinians problems much more than they are divided by their differences. Perhaps without knowing it, certainly without liking it very much, both Israel and the Arabs have long found themselves drifting toward accord on the Palestinian problem, and toward similar policies of repression against the Palestinians as well.

This was already evident during the Jordan valley battle of Karameh in 1968, when it was difficult to tell whether Gen. Dayan or King Hussein was more discomfited by the stiff Palestinian resistance to an Israeli punitive raid. It became more obvious in Lebanon last year, when the Syrians and the Israelis—who still behave as implacable enemies—acted as clandestine allies in a joint pincer movement against the PLO.

The real measure of the bankruptcy on both sides is that Israel and Syria now are trapped in the same policy: one of permanent military occupation of other people's lands.

The real measure of the bankruptcy on both sides is that Israel and Syria now are trapped in the same policy: one of permanent military occupation of other people's lands.

Israel is surrounded by states palpably obsessed with one objective: to reach a settlement, to avoid another war on behalf of a Palestinian cause for which they have little remaining sympathy and even less national interest.

developing a unified "class politics." Claiming that the national struggle has hopelessly degenerated into sectarian retribution, these groups have focused their energies upon minimal reform demands as a strategy for building class unity. Last year, for example, the CPI and the Officials were very active in promoting the Peace Women.

On the other hand, an alternative strategy is being developed by an alliance of socialist organizations which include the Socialist Women's Group, Movement for a Socialist Republic, Peoples' Democracy, Independent Socialist Party, Irish Workers Group, and the Socialist Workers Movement.

Their perspective, as outlined by Ber-

Yet Israel continues to predicate its security requirements on the assumption that it faces a unitary Arab menace, not separate Jordanian, Egyptian, Syrian efforts to escape the failed doctrines of the past. Unwilling to see that its best prospects for security lie in stable neighbors—not destabilization—Israel continues to react to civil war in Lebanon or riots in Cairo as if they were good news.

The Arabs, for their part, find it hard to admit what they already know: that the Israelis want what they have always wanted—security in their own homes, not impenetrable fortifications of their neighbors' lands.

►Opportunity lost?

As a result, for all the talk of 1977 being the year of comprehensive peace, a great historical opportunity is likely to be grasped but lost. All sides may indeed finally get to peace talks in Geneva. But once there, the stereotypes are likely to win again.

There will be impasses over kilometer posts in the Sinai, over kibbutzim in the Golan Heights, crises involving the U.S. secretary of State over whether one Israeli cooperative or two Palestinian villages will get water from the well.

But neither side will be able to make the other answer the question it dares not ask itself: what is to be done with the Palestinians?

Indeed, while the Israelis reiterate their position that the Palestinians shall have nothing at all, similar sentiments are also being expressed in Arabic. While calling for a Palestinian national state, President Sadat suggests it might, after all, be confederated with Jordan. If the Palestinians don't want Jordan, President Assad of Syria implies, they can feel the force of Syrian troops instead. And while embracing the principles of self-determination, King Hussein conspires with them both—and the Israelis, too—to get back his unwilling subjects.

"I can see what the Israelis and the Arab states and the superpowers will get out of Geneva," a Palestinian student at Bethlehem University recently said. "But what's in it for us?"

The Palestinians—who see themselves as the greatest victims of the perpetual refusal in the Mideast to solve the central problem, or even to admit it even exists—themselves hope to gain some advantage from the Geneva impasse: survival, at least of a kind.

"Those hopes in Syria that Arafat will be sent packing; those dreams in Israel that the PLO is finished, forget them," remarked an American intelligence source after the Lebanon war. "The PLO has not lost, it's proved it knows how to play the game. Wait till you see how they play in Geneva."

T.D. Allman, a member of St. Antony's College in Oxford, England, recently completed a research fellowship at the Council on Foreign Relations. He has written on the Middle East and Indochina since the early 1970s for such publications as *The New York Times*, *Manchester Guardian* and *Le Monde diplomatique*.

IN THESE TIMES will be publishing future articles on Israel and the Palestinians. They will represent differing points of view, of which T.D. Allman's is one.

No. Ireland

(Continued from page 9.)

rates the Orange and Green working class.

How long the ULCCC will maintain a willingness to talk to Catholics, however, is another question. After making a bold call a few weeks ago for a ceasefire with the IRA, the ULCCC was angrily denounced by the rest of the Loyalist leadership. Neo-fascist elements dominate the Protestant paramilitary groups, and they like to talk about a "final solution" in the form of an all-out, Lebanese-style civil war.

So, while the opportunity still exists, it

is crucial that the Irish left responds to the "progressive" stance of the ULCCC with its own concrete counter-proposals for united action in the face of the economic crisis. Although the socialist movement in Northern Ireland remains fragmented into almost a dozen small groups, the basic division on the left is between two broad strategies of how to build mass activity.

►Two left strategies.

One political bloc, including the Communist party of Ireland and the Official Republican Movement, contends that a "normalization" of daily life in the North—an end to paramilitary violence—is both the precondition as well as the means of

nadette (Devlin) MacAliskey and others, differs fundamentally from the Provisional's. Instead of relying on military tactics, they emphasize the primary role of mass organization, the integration of issues, and the need for a clear socialist program.

But unlike the Communist party and Official Republicans, these groups reject the possibility of normalization as long as the British Army occupies the Catholic ghettos. They also contend that the peace movement has been cynically manipulated by the British government to drown out demands for radical social change.

Mike Davis is a Los Angeles journalist who has spent many years in Ireland and Northern Ireland and recently returned from Northern Ireland.

Schumacher takes on our "dinosaur technology"



Our present technology is too big, too complex, too costly and too violent to survive much longer.

By David Moberg
Staff Writer

Are we living in an Age of Dinosaurs—dinosaur technology—that is lumbering and crashing to a painful end? Very definitely, yes, says E.F. Schumacher, author of the word-of-mouth bestseller, *Small Is Beautiful*. At least 100,000 Americans are "hard core" converts to or fellow preachers of his gospel of an "appropriate technology" as an alternative to the energy-guzzling, massive scale technology epitomized by our skyscrapers and auto-clogged expressways.

Schumacher, a genial 66-year-old former chief economist of Britain's National Coal Board, drew large audiences wherever he went during his recent six-week American tour.

Like Marcuse with radical students a

decade ago, he is a reluctant guru to a fast-growing movement that carries with it a message of social as well as technological transformation.

Our present dinosaur technology is too big, too complex, too costly and too violent to survive much longer, Schumacher argues. It is a technology accessible only to the rich and powerful, and it makes them richer and more powerful. It has not enriched the bulk of the world's population, and often has made their lot worse. Even most people in the industrialized countries are sentenced to a lifetime of meaningless, degraded servitude to machines, buying with their wages products of that megatechnology that may be very inappropriate for living a good life.

The technology is based on the rapid consumption of coal, oil and gas. Those unique natural treasures laid down over the course of hundreds of millions of years may be totally gone in a century or so. It

would be gone even faster if the poor countries of the world tried to mimic the United States, which consumes one-third of the annual energy budget of the world with only six percent of the population.

Such overconsumption of irreplaceable resources is not only a crime against humanity and a clearly impermanent way of life, Schumacher argues, but also a pattern that will quickly become uneconomical. There is no "technological fix" that can save it, he says. To adopt a different technology, corporate capitalism must be dramatically transformed.

Schumacher's interpretation of history and current problems is too technologically determinist. It often minimizes the causes of human misery rooted in ways of organizing society, particularly capitalism. As a result, there is an almost naive hope

(Continued on page 12.)

Schumacher

Schumacher first developed his ideas while working as an economic development consultant in India and Burma. He concluded that it would be possible to develop those countries only by putting everyone to work with the best technology that could be made widely available. That would mean relatively cheap, simple equipment that improved on traditional tools, but did not immediately involve building big cement plants.



Paul Sequeira

Schumacher says that "stunt technology" threatens to gobble us up.

(Continued from page 11.)

that changing technology will automatically make a more democratic, satisfying world. However, he does attack the profit-obsession of capitalism, the callous inhumanity of economics that operates as if the world were populated by prices rather than people, and the awesome power of large corporations virtually unaccountable to anyone.

His real originality, however, is his criticism of the course of technological development. With the energy crisis the productive forces underlying modern capitalism—and some industrialized socialist states—are coming into conflict with the way work and society are organized. The way out, he suggests, is a communitarian socialism based on democratic, self-reliant technology.

► Between the hoe and bulldozer.

In the course of industrial development, there has been a progressive development of larger scale machinery and processes that has seemed the only road to more efficient production. In many parts of the world, however, people continue to work with extremely simple tools. Do we have to choose between a hoe and a bulldozer, a spinning wheel and a huge textile mill? Schumacher argues that we can and must put our scientific ingenuity to the task of developing sophisticated, effective intermediate technology offering and alternative. Concentration of capital has meant that research has been harnessed in service of a technology appropriate only to the needs of big corporations.

Wouldn't everything simply be made perfect if there were popular control of that technology, the traditional aim of socialists? Schumacher argues that some large-scale technology is necessary and should be socialized; but not through "nationalization." Our contemporary means of producing goods is largely inappropriate, he thinks.

It is ecologically inappropriate—destroying the environment and dependent on nonrenewable energy sources. It is inappropriate for satisfying work, and Schumacher assumes that people need and want creative work. It is inappropriate for the development of close-knit communities. Finally, it is inappropriate for the construction of a peaceful, egalitarian, democratic society.

Schumacher first developed his ideas while working as an economic development consultant in India and Burma. He concluded that it would be possible to develop those countries only by putting everyone to work with the best technology that could be made widely available. That would mean relatively cheap, simple equipment that improved on traditional tools, but did not immediately involve building big cement plants.

Later he became convinced that the industrialized countries would also have to adopt more intermediate range technology, especially to come to terms with the limits on fossil fuels and to halt the concentration of population in the inhumanly scaled megalopolises. Part of the program of the *Communist Manifesto*, he reminds audiences, was the "combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country, by a more equitable distribution of the population over the country."

► A stunt technology.

"What's happened with technology?" Schumacher rhetorically asked a crowd of 2,000 who came to a mid-March conference on alternative technology in Chicago, billed as "Live From the Midwest." "Technology no doubt is a wonderful thing in itself, not from the point of view of what people really require, but from the point of view of what can we achieve with it. So in many respects we have developed a 'stunt' technology. The greatest stunt was to land on the moon. That had nothing to do with the poor of the world."

Schumacher recommended some immediate technological moves that could save energy and redirect development. First, substitute biological farming methods for the agriculture that is increasingly dependent on petroleum for fertilizers, chemicals and power. Comparative studies

made by Barry Commoner's Institute for the Study of Biological Systems of commercial Illinois farms have shown that organic farming is productive and financially viable, especially as oil prices go up, and cause less harm to the environment than conventional agriculture.

Second, begin a crash program of home heating (and water heating) with solar power. Household heating uses 20 percent of the nation's energy. Simple architectural changes could save half that energy consumption, especially that used for air conditioning. Combined solar panels and heat pumps for heating homes are already available at reasonable costs, and with more production, prices could quickly drop. One system on display at the conference in Chicago would cost \$3,000 to \$5,000 for an average house, if the owner installed it. Don Greider, the electronics engineer who developed it, hopes to start a low mark-up distribution network for the panels. He also wants to produce the system in a way that will avoid dehumanized assembly lines and preserve skills and pleasures in the work of installation.

Third, Schumacher tells anyone who will listen, begin decentralizing industry. In a favorite example, he quotes a trade journal that waxed enthusiastic over the prospect that only a couple of dozen bakeries might soon provide all the bread in the country. Schumacher recommends developing the intermediate technology that would enable every neighborhood to have its own bakery, providing useful work and delivering bread worth eating. His American associate, Peter Gillingham, also said that there are a wide range of cement-like compounds that could quite adequately replace Portland cement for many uses. The sophisticated adobes could be produced efficiently on a local scale and with far less energy than required for Portland cement.

► Community self-reliance.

Schumacher takes a much different approach to the reduction of unnecessary labor than many socialists, who hope that one day all manual labor will be automated out of existence. He doubts that can happen, certainly not within any foreseeable future. Besides, he argues, work is—or can be—Everyman's Art. It is good for the producer, not just for the product that results. A vast portion of contemporary work could be eliminated, however, with a technology that enhanced community self-reliance, with people making decisions about what they really need. For example, relying on local greenhouses for fresh vegetables could reduce labor and energy now devoted to transportation, packaging, processing and marketing.

Intermediate technology and community self-reliance can be weapons in the fight against poverty, he claims, superior to welfare payments and more directly addressing combined social and economic problems than traditional government measures of tax cuts, pump-priming or massive public works. Of course, government financial aid and good technical assistance would accelerate any community project.

"Most work in a functioning society is done by taking in one another's washing," he said. "If now a community is run-down the only work that remains is work outside—a job outside. Well, there aren't enough jobs. So the only way to recover is to take a community view and say, 'We all eat bread. Why don't we have a bakery? Why do we spend our few dollars buying bread from a monster bakery a few hundred miles away, and then we don't even get bread? We have a requirement of clothing. Where do we get it from? We buy from far away. Why don't we set up at least some clothing manufacture in our community. The only thing that would stand in the way would be people saying, 'Ah, that's uneconomic.' Maybe without some community consciousness, namely, that it is better to keep people alive in the community, maybe without that it can't be done." With the right technology, he insists, such production could be competitive.

Such talk of bootstrap self-reliance, virtues of simple living and scaled-down production leads many critics to see Schumacher as an ascetic commending poverty to the poor. For people demanding "more," is the answer now simply "less,"

as some pinhead politicians and limit-to-growth enthusiasts say? The answer, Schumacher responds, is different and better. "There is no value in maximizing consumption," he argues. "We want to maximize satisfaction. We want to get our satisfaction with a minimum of consumption." This is one facet of what he calls his "Buddhist economics."

►How to produce well

Schumacher does not advocate a wholesale dismantling of all large factories and a return to a hunting-and-gathering mode of life or a search for a lost peasant idyll. Although he thinks that many tools, such as windmills, have been unwisely abandoned, he argued for development of a new, efficient democratic technology. Essentially he maintains that in order to be democratic, workplaces should not be too large for people in them to govern themselves. Work itself should be an experience in mastery of tools and trades, not submission to iron discipline of machines and bureaucracies. Central planning may be necessary, but the more power in the hands of the workers and their immediate communities, the better.

The problem is not only how to produce more but how to produce it well. Capitalist economic categories reduce all components to an abstract price and assume that everything is exchangeable on that basis. But there is an important qualitative difference between an equal number of BTUs that come from a renewable source of energy—sun, wind, water, trees, human labor—or that come from a non-renewable source, such as coal, gas and oil. It is inadequately expressed by price alone. Efficiency is important, but Schumacher argues that other criteria are at least as important: effect on the living environment, relationship to nonliving natural resources, possibilities for democratic control, opportunities for craftsmanship, creation of a community, for example.

"Appropriate," of course, is a neutral word," Schumacher observes. "Nobody was saying it's in favor of inappropriate technology. [The question is:] Is it appropriate to what we want to do? My own view is that the most important thing for our culture is a modicum of democratic freedom. Is our gigantic and relatively expensive technology conducive to democratic freedom? The answer is 'No.' It is conducive to the development of great concentrations of economic power and the kind of predicament that in the year 2000, 50 multinational corporations will do 90 percent of the work of the world. We do not have technology appropriate for maintaining democratic freedom."

Schumacher deliberately stresses the critique of technology, because he believes that most people see it as neutral, autonomous, inevitable in its course of development—a fetishized monster that we bow before or try to tame according to our disposition. Certainly his proposals for a different technology have gained the greatest, most diverse attention. There is, however, another side to his criticism. California Gov. Jerry Brown, a Schumacher enthusiast, loved all of *Small Is Beautiful* except the last part. That's where Schumacher talks about socialism and new forms of ownership.

►Schism about shared profit

Throughout his writing and talking Schumacher is ambivalent about profit as a guiding principle. He sees its role as responsible for some of the worst abuses of contemporary civilization, a complete antithesis to his call for an "economics as if people mattered." Yet he tries to defend his reforms as profitable.

His best example of a workplace democracy is the Scott Bader Commonwealth, an English company run by workers who agree to keep the firm small, restrict the range of wage differentials, fire people only in case of gross misconduct, devote part of their profits to charity and refuse to sell products for war-related purposes. The company was set up, however, by a philanthropic leftist manufacturer—a latter day Robert Owen. Would General Motors follow that example?

What would prevent the great conglomerates from controlling production of the machinery for collecting renewable energy? True, once you have your solar panels

and windmills, you have a great independence, but the history of large corporations and the patterns of capitalist development do not favor the survival of many small neighborhood enterprises. Already alternative technologists encounter problems with financing. Tax policies encourage land speculation that undermines dreams of the eco-farm adventure. Many small companies—and most of the big energy corporations—are scrambling to make a quick, big buck off solar energy as it comes into its own. Development of new technologies can be an important part of democratizing society, but without changes in politics and property relations, our problems will remain.

Schumacher and many of the appropriate technologists are politically naive. Occasionally some of his supporters can be insufferably moralistic. There is at times a retreatist air, a total and almost mindless revolt against science and technology. However, Schumacher's criticism of technology can be ignored by democratic socialists at their own peril.

Although it may be a matter of making a virtue out of necessity, the Chinese—especially in their agriculture—have followed principles similar to Schumacher's with great success. Socialists in advanced capitalist countries have to recognize the way in which the development of their technology has been stamped through and through with capitalist interests (or more generally, the interest of centralized power). Socialism, to be successful and especially to be democratic, can not simply take over that technology and administer it differently any more than it could simply take over the existing government bureaucracy and think that it was socialist because some people with socialist ideas were in control of it.

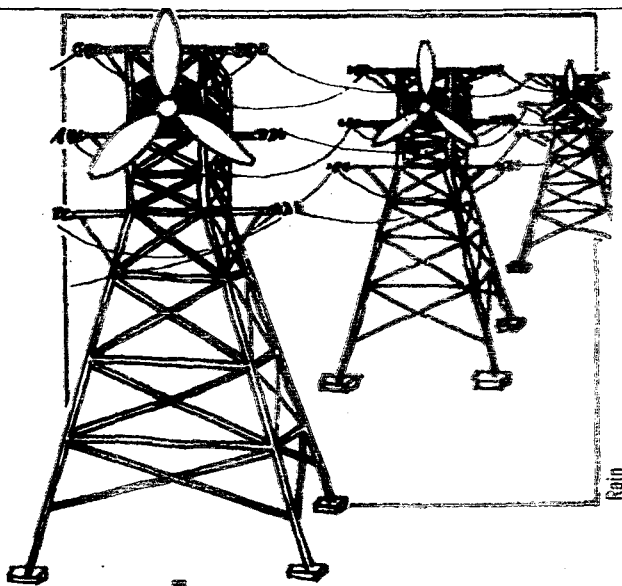
►Not just hippies involved

The rapidly expanding movement for alternative technology carries with it a variety of people and political positions, but it is radically democratic and decentralist. It criticizes not only the technology of contemporary America but also the destruction of communities, the degradation of work, militarism, concentrated corporate power, current architecture and city planning, the unresponsive bureaucracies of government and the corruption of personal character.

The people who showed up at Live From the Midwest may be representative of the mixed bag of appropriate technologists. There were basement inventors with their plans for windmills and solar panels, black and white community activists organizing to combat poverty, socialists and left-wing capitalists, organic farmers and maverick architects, bottle recyclers and social workers, engineers and high school students, big city opponents of redlining and rural advocates of methane gas generation, psychologists and preachers. There were lots of people in their 20s and 30s straight out of the pages of *Whole Earth Catalog*, but there were also white-haired men neatly dressed in suit and tie, crew-cut mechanics, and successful professional people.

Now they are trying to demonstrate that their ideas can work. "One of the things that we have to do is convince Congress that appropriate technology is not just hippies who say they can build houses with cow shit," Cecil Cook, an anthropologist on the board of the new National Center for Appropriate Technology, said. NCAT is an intriguing blend of anti-poverty activists and intermediate technologists who recently received modest federal funding to use appropriate technology to fight poverty. One of their first projects is development of enterprises in poor communities that can cheaply produce an efficient insulating material for homes to cut down heating bills.

Cook is convinced that the appropriate technology movement is the heir to the civil rights, poverty and antiwar movements "that moved things a few steps forward, opened up a passage into a new world. Appropriate technology as a movement is a statement that will give us the tools to build physically and socially the world we wanted." Yet, as fellow NCAT board member Harriet Barlow said, technological questions are the easiest to answer. "The hard nut will be how we ask questions of society and economics." □



Oil gets used up—the wind never stops

By Thomas Galazen

As conventional fuel prices climb and the dangers and costs of nuclear power become clear, alternative sources are receiving increasing attention. A recent National Science Foundation study estimates that wind energy alone could supply 23 percent of our electrical needs by the year 2000.

Those considerations attracted over 275 persons to Ashland, Wis., on March 5 for a conference exploring the possibility of harnessing wind power to produce electricity in the northern Great Lakes area.

Participants, mostly from northern Wisconsin and Minnesota, listened while wind advocates outlined the potential for small and large scale applications and identified obstacles to widespread use of wind power.

Wind speeds in the region average over 12 miles per hour and the idea of using wind to produce power is already being put into practice on an experimental basis.

Residential applications in the area range from small, homemade wind generators, costing several hundred dollars, to one \$10,000 unit, near Ashland, complete with a battery storage system, that can power all household electrical needs including a refrigerator, freezer, and carpentry workshop.

Wind machines for home application are available from several commercial outlets across the country, but one experimenter, Don Marier, maintains "there's nothing commercially that fits the bill for new wind generators."

Marier, an electrical engineer and co-editor of the magazine *Alternative Sources of Energy*, works on small-scale wind technology with a group around Milaca, Minn. They restore old Jacobs wind machines and recommend that individuals wanting to experiment scout the plain states for a used generator instead of buying a new one.

►Decline of wind generators

Between the 1930s and the 1950s, wind generators were used extensively in many rural areas, particularly Montana and the Dakotas. As the Rural Electrification Administration (REA) extended electric power lines and as farming operations became more energy intensive, the machines fell into disuse.

The Jacobs, widely considered one of the best of the American designs, was rated at 32 volts, although some of the later models produced 3 kw at 110 volts. By 1936, when production stopped, over \$60 million worth of Jacobs generators had been produced.

Residential use of wind power may be given a boost by a recent invention of Windworks, an experimental energy coop in Mukwonago, Wis., according to information compiled by conference organizers.

►Need for storage eliminated

The Windworks group has developed a "synchronous convertor" that transforms the variable current of a wind generator to 60 cycle A.C. power, allowing a link-up with the local utility grid system. The invention eliminates the need

for a storage system (often half the cost of a wind system), and would allow residences to tap into the utility grid when necessary and to feed excess power produced by wind generators back into the utility system.

While utilities are likely to oppose widespread utilization of the system, its development is considered an important technical breakthrough.

Large scale applications of wind generators for electric power grid systems could use units as small as 10 kilowatts, Carol DeWinkel, an alternative energy specialist at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, told the gathering. He said the simplest application involved feeding wind generated power into a grid, reducing the need for more expensive fuels now used. By constructing an "array" of wind generators over a large area, efficiency could be increased and the effect of wind variation reduced.

The results of a Minnesota Power and Light (MP&L) assessment of wind potential for its northeastern Minnesota service area were presented by Leon Ostrom, a company official. The utility, participating in a Homebased Energy funded by the Energy Research and Development Administration, "did not find wind generation a viable alternative on the MP&L system."

The study used the same criteria and assumptions applied to conventional plants and concluded wind power was unpredictable and variable, but would not pay for the wind system's costs, regulatory requirements were unclear and construction of an array of wind generators would involve responsibility for many land areas while the company was used to maintaining a few large areas for base load plants.

Wind generated electricity from large or small scale units is generally more expensive than conventional sources, but most conference participants would probably have agreed that mass production would drop the costs.

"We're demonstrating that the major problem is not technical," Don Marier said. "If our society decides to use [the wind machines], the economics will follow." Marier points out that economic incentives and massive subsidies were routinely used to promote many new technologies including railroads, space travel, and even the REA, which helped supplant a fledgling wind industry.

Wind power can be made viable, Marier contends, either by mass producing, installing and maintaining wind machines for a monthly charge through a utility-type institution or by using small industries in local areas to produce units that require users to put some of their own work and maintenance into the operation.

Perhaps the most compelling questions raised by wind enthusiasts at the conference was one that nobody could answer: what role will the private utilities and energy monopolies play in deciding and controlling the future of wind power?

Until their grip is broken or a scheme to turn handsome profits from the wind is devised, the potential of wind generation is likely to remain untapped.

Thomas Galazen is a writer who lives in Wisconsin and specializes in environmental subjects.

IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

Carter SALTs tails, left and right

President Carter sent Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance all the way to Moscow to deliver a message to those who stayed home—the American people and Congress.

Soviet Communist party chairman Brezhnev and Foreign Minister Gromyko were understandably perturbed at being so drawn into domestic American politics but, with just the appropriate degree of restrained anger, they served as good mediums in strengthening Carter's hand against those on his left and right.

What was the message? And how shall socialists and others on the left in the United States understand and respond to it?

Carter did not intend to engage the Soviet government in serious discussion of nuclear arms limitation, but rather to defer it. As the *New York Times*' Hedrick Smith noted: "Indeed, both inside and outside the Administration, specialists in Soviet affairs saw little chance that Moscow would accept the American proposals at this early stage of the talks." The message to the Soviets, then, was, "wait awhile," though it was orchestrated publicly to make the Soviets appear to oppose nuclear arms reductions. Hence Gromyko's display of exasperation.

But the intent lay elsewhere: to disarm the powerful American Hawks to the right and to discredit those to the left who want to cut military spending.

On the right hand, upon Vance's return home, the *Times* reports that Carter received "praise from domestic conservatives for his proposals for 'drastic' arms reductions." Since it was obvious that the hawks want arms increased, they were actually praising the deferral of arms-reduction talks.

On the left hand, the movement for cuts in military spending and the transfer of funds to social programs, has been stopped in its tracks. Liberal Democrat and assistant majority leader Sen. Alan Cranston (Calif.) states that Carter is being "tested" by the Soviets and that "the American people, Republicans and Democrats, hawks and doves, will rally to his support." This means, as Representative George H. Mahon, Texas Democrat and chairman of the House Appropriations Committee said, that expected Soviet rejection of Vance's proposals would "tend to support an atmosphere in Congress of support for the President and a strong defense."

Vance's journey to Moscow, in short, strengthened Carter's position in the middle of the American road. Some historical perspective helps to shed light on the direction it portends.

Ever since the first two decades of the 20th century when experts like Brooks Adams, Alfred T. Mahan, Paul S. Reinsch, and Charles A. Conant were the national security counterparts of today's Kennans, Kissingers, and Brzezinskis, American corporate and political rulers have defined world politics in terms of competing empires. They have viewed the U.S. as rightfully replacing Britain as the dominant Empire-nation, conceived not as an old annexationist colonialist power, but as director of an international corporate political-economy. American military might was to serve this political-economic objective as an instrument of foreign policy: Naval power combined, after World War II, with strategic air power, was the key to American global objectives.

Only after World War II did the U.S. become not simply a superpower, but the world's only superpower. Then it began to implement its imperial design on a comprehensive global scale.

The "Cold War," from 1945 to 1970,

...now Lennid,
before we
start talking 'bout
disarmament n'all,
let me ask you something...
are you familiar with
the Bible & our Saviour Jesus...



dear Jimmy,
...for every
warhead we
disarm—
we want One
Pepsi-Cola
franchise, one
hundred gallons of
gasoline, 28 tons of
wheat—57 BIG MACS...



Rehearsing for the SALT talks

was less a confrontation with the Soviet Union or China, than a mobilization of the American people, and international pro-capitalist forces, against revolution and in support of the military might and political initiatives needed to police and direct the spectacular expansion of the U.S.-dominated multinational corporate-capitalist imperium.

Outside of its immediate vicinity, important to its own security, neither the Soviet Union nor China could or did militarily threaten the U.S. or its world domination. The two great Communist nations were a threat only in their withdrawing a huge portion of the globe's resources and peoples from the world capitalist system, and in their aiding or inspiring anti-imperialist revolutions in other countries.

This is now conceded by all American political and military experts. From Kissinger and Sonnenfeldt to Nitze and Stansfield Turner, they all point out that only since the late 1960s has the Soviet Union become a global political and military superpower, if not yet an economic one. Only by about 1970 was the Soviet Union drawing to a "rough equivalence" with the U.S. in strategic nuclear capability and, more significantly, in naval power.

It was precisely the Soviet Union's new status that led the Nixon/Kissinger administration to reassess relations with it, and that has plunged the corporate ruling class into a fundamental debate over strategic policy.

In the whole period from 1945 to the end of the 1960s, the United States did not enter into serious consideration of detente with the Soviet Union, nor did it seriously consider disarmament or arms limitations agreements. It is only since the Soviet Union has begun to approach military parity that the U.S. has moved in that direction. The "Cold War" went merrily on as long as the Soviet Union could not threaten American security;

"detente" has followed only now when the Soviet Union has a destructive capability similar to that of the U.S. The Soviets will be excused if they believe that only its military might induces U.S. leaders to "moderation."

American strategic debate is ostensibly between those who want to restore the old American military superiority through nuclear and other military build-up—the impossible dreamers led by Nitze, Sen. Henry Jackson, Schlesinger, Rumsfeld—and those realists who recognize that that is now impossible. The latter (Warnke, Harriman, Kennan, Turner, Vance, Brown) want to accept a nuclear stand-off ("mutual deterrence" or "mutual assured destruction"—MAD) and maintain American naval and conventional superiority, to provide the muscle to keep as much of the rest of the world as possible within the capitalist empire.

Both sides favor rising military budgets over the next decade at least.

Carter is with the realists. He wants to reach agreement with the Soviet Union on limiting and even scaling down nuclear arsenals, but in such a way, and with such timing, as not to open his government to attack from the right for being "soft" toward the Soviets, and as to thwart movements for cutting the military budget and transferring funds to social programs.

For the time being, Vance's mission has accomplished that.

But it should be clear that Carter's "realist" objective is the same as that of the impossible dreamers. It is to expand and deploy American military power to maintain the global corporate empire, and to discourage both the Soviet Union and China from aiding anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist revolutions in third countries. It is an objective that in updated rhetoric continues the old Cold War against the right of peoples throughout the world to change their social and

political systems in accordance with their own needs and aspirations.

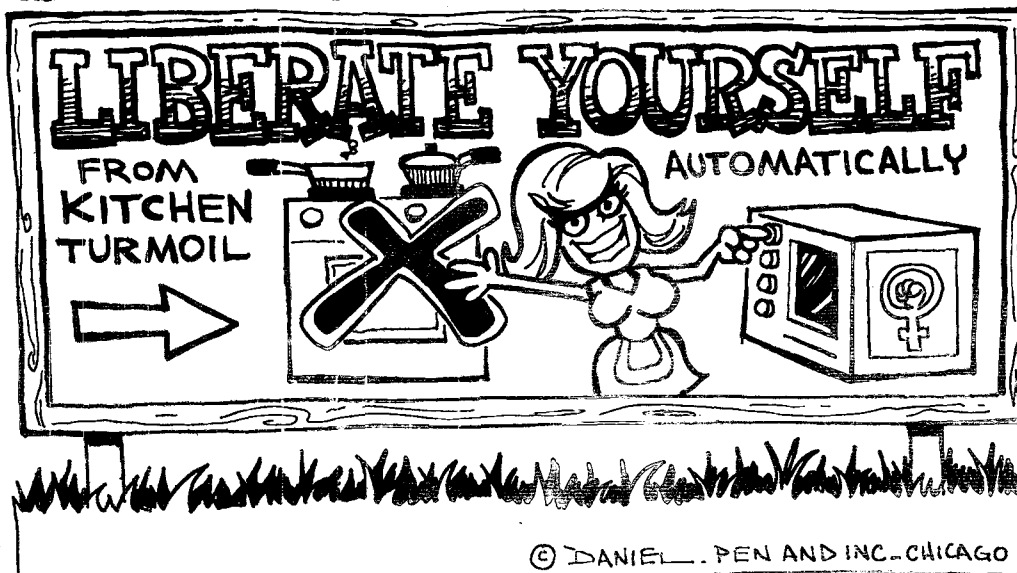
It continues the old interventionist planning, the CIA covert operations, the corporate-imperialism, and the anti-democratic alliances abroad (for all the talk of human rights), and the bloated military budgets, urban decay, peacetime unemployment, and social disarray at home.

Bleak as the prospects now appear, socialists and those on the left should redouble their support for reducing military spending and raising outlays for full employment planning and other social programs. But we have seen how a corporate administration can manipulate sentiment in Congress and among the public away from such efforts and toward higher military spending, as long as there is no powerful force in American society challenging the basic capitalist premises of foreign policy, and offering and fighting for new ones, and electing people so committed to Congress, the legislatures, city halls, and other offices throughout the land.

Those new premises would view the world as a pluralistic community of peoples and nations, not as competing empires. They would call for the U.S. to respect the right of peoples everywhere to effect fundamental social change, or revolutions; they would welcome rather than fear or intervene against them. The new premises would mean a declining military capacity and the transfer of resources and labor to constructive purposes. They would mean genuine efforts at real disarmament negotiations rather than cosmetic "arms limitation" agreements.

Substantial and sustained cuts in American military spending will only come with a fundamental change in American foreign policy objectives, and that will only come with fundamental social change, or a revolution in political and economic relations at home.

THE FACTORY FEATURING RIFKA



Letters

Already an impact

Editor:

The *Lincoln Gazette*, a small alternative newspaper in Lincoln, Neb., would like to contribute \$5 to *IN THESE TIMES*. You have already made an impact on American political thought; you have our support.

—Allan Stibal
Lincoln, Neb.

Found us on the floor

Editor:

I picked up a copy of your weekly from the floor of a corridor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. And was I ever surprised! Virtually all of the left-oriented publications I've run across are dry, humorless, and dogmatic. But your paper is just great—intelligent, analytical, perceptive, and so much more.

So enclosed is \$15 for a year's subscription.

—Michael Stone
Watertown, Mass.

Sectarian carping?

Editor:

Roberta Lynch's column on DSOC (*ITT*, March 30) raises important questions about that organization, particularly in regard to DSOC's relationship to anti-progressive trends within international social democracy. While these concerns play a part, as she says, in determining "the role that DSOC will play within the left," the column raised anew in my mind questions about the role that NAM will play within the left.

Socialist ideas and programs are gaining increasing acceptance within the liberal political movement (notably within the New Democratic Coalition, in which I've become active), and with sections of the labor movement. This potential hegemony of socialism is largely due to the efforts of DSOC.

If NAM's relationship to DSOC, and to the liberal/labor/left within which DSOC works, is limited to polemics such as Lynch's column, then those polemics will amount to nothing more than sectarian carping. Throughout its history, NAM's biggest flaw has been a syndicalist fear of involvement in politics. If NAM will end its political abstentionism, and begin to participate with DSOC and others in reform political activity, then NAM's criticisms of DSOC will contribute to the building of a democratic socialist movement able to place socialism on the American political agenda.

—Al Hart
Erie, Pa.

Doctrinaire jah?

Editor:

Roberta Lynch's jab at DSOC's "demonstrated leanings" on Israel bespeaks her failure to accept the Jewish people's right to self-determination.

At the Chicago convention, DSOC resolved "that the achievement of a just and lasting peace between Israel and her Arab neighbors requires:

"1. The Arab states' and the Palestinian Arabs' acceptance of Israel as a legitimate expression of the Jewish people's right to self-determination;

"2. Israel's recognition of the Palestinian Arabs' right to a self-determination, including national sovereignty, alongside Israel on a basis compatible with Israel's right to independence and security;

"3. Israel's commitment to withdraw from substantially all the occupied territories in the context of a comprehensive peace settlement providing for (i) mutual recognition and normalized relations, (ii) demilitarization of the territories from which Israel withdraws, and (iii) measures to prevent terrorist actions against Israel;

"4. Acceptance of the Palestinian Arabs as an additional party to peace negotiations; and

"5. Continued American political, economic, and military support for Israel's defense of her independence and security."

DSOC's foreign policy perspective, as exemplified by our support for Arab/Israel peace and democratic socialist advance in Europe, is of a piece with DSOC's domestic politics. They share a commitment to the inextricable connection of socialism and democracy.

In this respect, *ITT* exhibits a split personality. Domestic coverage seems animated by the same spirit moving DSOC. However, foreign coverage tends to be more doctrinaire and unclear about socialism's democratic essence.

—David A. Guberman
Newton, Mass.

Disturbingly sectarian?

Editor:

Erazim Kohak's small classic, "What is Socialism?" and DSOC hold views "most disturbing" to Roberta Lynch, e.g., that there is no socialism where the state and factories do not belong to the people and factory workers (and they do not in communist countries), and that self-determination is valid as well for Czechoslovakia as for Zimbabwe.

What is disturbingly sectarian about Lynch, and most *ITT* foreign affairs commentary, is the acceptance of communist parties as socialist without regard to their democratic credentials, while democratic socialists and social democrats are scorned for having democratic objections to communism. The idea seems to be that there are two socialisms—authoritarian and democratic—between which no choice is necessary.

However, communism is only more or less Stalinist. DSOC, and European so-

cialists, are hopeful about "Eurocommunism" precisely because it may mean those parties are in the process of rejecting communism. That Lynch should be disturbed by DSOC's solidarity with Portuguese socialists struggling to ensure their revolution's democratic character against one of western Europe's most Stalinist communist parties only puts in doubt her own democratic commitments.

—David Aron
Boston, Mass.

...or on the beam?

Editor:

Roberta Lynch's column on the DSOC (*ITT*, April 5) was on the beam. I would add the following.

Of all the major capitalist democracies the U.S. has the narrowest and most retrograde politics. Policies and ideas regarded as old hat in Tokyo, Bonn or Paris are still considered "radical" here (the U.S., for example, remains the only industrial state without a national medical scheme for all of its citizens).

Given this sad reality, DSOC can claim to be "socialist" on the basis of a program that would put the right-wing leaders of the German Social Democrats, French Gaullists or Italian Christian Democrats to sleep. And it can get away with this precisely because the American political dialog is so arid, and because our people have been insulated not only from real socialist ideas but even from the main political currents in other capitalist countries.

DSOC will have to move to the left of Bismarck or de Gaulle (both of whom "nationalized" industries and supported far more extensive social welfare measures than anything yet contemplated here) if we are to take it seriously. Somehow, I tend to doubt its willingness to take such a "radical" step.

—Pete Karman
Middletown, Conn.

Most heartening

Editor:

Unlike a number of writers whose letters have appeared in your pages, I am delighted with your newspaper's quality, emphasis, and political orientation. Let the would-be Lenins put together their own newspaper (or revolution). I prefer your brand of democratic socialism, and I think most Americans do too.

Keep at it. You've helped spark the most heartening political trend in years!

—Larry Wittner
Niskayuna, N.Y.

A tremendous service, but...

Editor:

Your reporting of the strike at Preterm clinic in Brookline, Mass. (*ITT*, March 30) was a tremendous service to these courageous workers. What was lacking (an oversight, I hope) was your mention of the union itself—District

1199 of the National Union of Hospital and Health care employees. Your analysis of the ramifications of the strike also is not limited to abortion clinics. Boston is the center of the health care industry in New England and as recent organizing campaigns have attested in some of the hospitals—very anti-union. A victory at Preterm will contribute to organizing efforts elsewhere in the industry. Keep up the good work.

—Steve Courtney
Columbus, Ohio

Socialism and the CIA

Editor:

Your general editorial position on CED and DSOC (*ITT*, March 23) is both appealing and well-reasoned. We take strong exception, however, to particular support for the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee.

Not all so-called socialist efforts to invade the electoral process are equally deserving of support. Socialist groups may decide to play down a rhetoric that is threatening to many exploited and alienated American men and women. But we do not believe that those of us who call ourselves "independent socialists" can let this tactic tie us to the staunch anti-communism that seems firmly rooted in DSOC. Their support of Mario Soares and the Portuguese Socialist Party at the very time when they were joining with center and right groups to fight a left that was trying to transform Portugal from a fascist to a socialist regime must read DSOC out of the left movement and from any support from you. It has been acknowledged for over a year and a half that Soares and his party have accepted funds (and who knows what else) from the CIA.

The left should be open to new alliances if we are to broaden our base among those whose material interests or beliefs make them open to socialist programs. But we *must* also be clear about who is the enemy. Capitalism and imperialism are intimately related. State agencies, the CIA above all, are the agents of American imperialism that have sought to thwart revolutionary movements throughout the world. Can we forget or forgive Vietnam, Chile, Guatemala, Iran?

Continue to support your vision of socialism and the strategy towards which your analysis leads you. But make critical distinctions. Not all groups that call themselves socialist and have an electoral strategy deserve your editorial encouragement.

—Philip Brenner
—Paul Goldman
Washington, D.C.

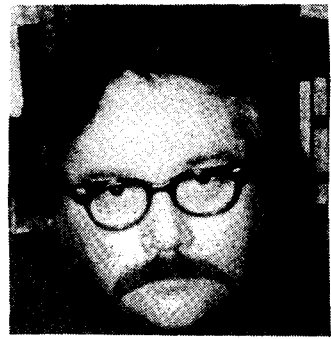
(More letters on next page.)

CORRECTION

The photographs accompanying our centerfold story on Cuba last week were incorrectly credited. They were taken by Rebecca Switzer.

Robert Carson

Corporate welfare: the real cheaters put poor people to shame



In one of its occasional self-conscious gestures to a progressive depiction of the news, the *New York Times* breathlessly reported a couple of Sundays ago that "the government subsidizes almost everything." Rather ingenuously the *Times* reporter focused on the extraordinary cash, credit, tax and in-kind subsidies that go to corporations and upper-income Americans. Of course, the article made no specific conclusions but the implications were obvious: the rich and the corporations actually receive welfare payments.

Now everyone with the slightest radical perspective of American corporate capitalism knows very well that we have a dual welfare system in the U.S. The old saw that in America we have free enterprise and the poor and welfare for the rich is a hackneyed left cliché. However, the significance of this generalization in a literal sense is not completely understood. In fact, as I reached for some statistical source materials and my pocket calculator to check the *Times* data, I was unsure of the real magnitude and the recent trends in the growing gap between welfare for the poor and welfare for corporate America. The evidence I found surprised even me.

►A small fraction to people in need.

First, social welfare subsidies are a very small fraction of total government subsidies paid under our dual welfare program.

Not including social security, unemployment payments and medicare, which are all paid by federal, state, and local governments to needy people totaled \$33.6 billion. This was only one-third as large as the \$96.5 billion paid by the federal government alone in cash, credit, tax and in-kind subsidies to corporations and the non-poor. Corporate America's welfare income, of course, would be even greater if we could accurately determine the dollar value of state and local tax and cash credits given to entice, coddle and support business and the well-to-do.

Here's how our "welfare" systems looked in 1975:

Transfers to corporations and the non-poor by the federal government (in billions):

Direct cash.....	\$12.8
Tax subsidies.....	60.0
Credits.....	2.9
In-kind.....	20.8
	\$96.5

Transfers to the poor by all governments (in billions):

	Total	Federal SHARE
Aid for dependent children....	\$ 8.6	\$ 5.4
Supplemental income.....	5.5	4.2
Food stamps.....	4.4	4.4
Medicaid.....	13.0	7.4
Misc. food programs.....	2.1	2.1
	\$33.6	\$23.5

►Corporate "welfare" is growing.

A second characteristic of our dual welfare system is that transfers to corporate America are growing faster than those to the poor—even though poverty is growing in America. Between 1974 and 1975 tax subsidies to business and upper income groups increased by \$7 billion or 14 percent while AFDC payments grew by only \$600 million or 7 percent. Given the dimensions and the trend in our two welfare operations, the bitter irony of Carter's rhetoric about those abusing welfare privileges or HEW chief Califano's decision to employ FBI agents to track down welfare cheaters cannot be missed.

The double welfare standard and the lack of official interest in finding the Bonnies and Clydes of the corporate welfare roles was particularly apparent several weeks ago when it was revealed that GM had regularly been cheating on its tax subsidy benefits by writing off plant and employment that didn't even exist. There

was as much embarrassment over the matter at the Justice department as in Detroit.

►Setting people against people.

A third characteristic of our welfarism is that it is politically devised and fiscally administered so as to confuse tax payers on the benefits of corporate welfare and enrage them about grants to the poor. Invariably, cash, tax, credit and in-kind subsidies are presented as having direct economic benefits to the whole economy. Transfers to businesses create jobs. Loans to college students or the refinancing of New York's bonds are good investments. Tax breaks to middle and upper income homeowners stimulate consumption. And so on.

Meanwhile, social transfers to the poor are seen as unproductive even though it is obvious that the poor do not exchange their "gifts" among each other. In fact, the fastest growing of all the poverty transfer programs have been those where the poor have merely been a conduit for transferring funds directly to hospitals, doctors, landlords, grocery stores, or franchised school lunch operators. All payments to the poor are subsidies of corporate capital in the long run.

By administering social welfare programs with joint federal/state/local responsibility, this part of the dual welfare system gets special tax payer scrutiny. At least one-third of social welfare transfers are paid out of state and local funds. Those states and localities least able to pay are of course called upon to make the greatest outlays.

Moreover, federal aid ratios in most programs are contrived so that the federal government pays absolutely larger shares of the welfare cost the smaller the state's actual contribution to welfare. As a result Indiana receives only about half the per capita federal welfare aid that Texas does (\$55 versus \$100 per capita for all state residents). This, even though both states have about the same per capita income and Indiana's economic situation

(as measured in unemployment) is about twice as bad as that in Texas.

The lesson is obvious: to get more federal aid to pay welfare costs, a state is ahead if it lowers its own contributions. The lesson is quickly being learned by earlier "paradises" of welfare benevolence—northern and mid-western states now in serious fiscal crises.

As a result, upstate New York and Long Island suburbanites can undertake "taxpayer revolts" by reducing welfare support for the decaying rural and inner-city places in New York State. They cannot, however, effectively revolt against "welfare" for Lockheed Aircraft Corporation in Marietta, Ga., even though they must pay for it without receiving any benefits.

By making poor people a largely local problem and poor business a national one and by creating fiscal incentives for local welfare "thrift," while setting the corporate welfare budget beyond effective democratic review, our dual welfare system moves steadily toward greater corporate subsidy and less humane provisions for people.

►On welfare reform.

Welfare reform was a plank in the Carter platform and has long been a rhetorical ploy in Washington, but there is presently little movement toward reconstructing the welfare system. In fact, Carter has admitted that this is not high on his present agenda, nor does it rank very highly with Congress. From the above data, the reasons should be obvious. "Welfare" in its broadest meaning of income redistribution really doesn't need to be reformed. Our dual welfare system works out just fine from the perspective of corporate capital. Thus we will continue to see Washington chase after little cheats rather than open the whole question of who should get what subsidies in America.

Robert Carson teaches economics at State University College, Oneonta, N.Y., and is author of *Main Line to Oblivion: the Disintegration of New York Railroads in the 20th Century*.

More Letters

Far and away the best

Editor:

IN THESE TIMES is far and away the best socialist paper to date. A few of the articles are a bit too diluted for my taste, but being an "unaffiliated" sort, I appreciate a news/analysis approach to events. The traditional rhetorical/posturing approach of many other socialist papers grew old years ago. A good job overall. Best of luck in a much-needed effort to diffuse and legitimate a socialist perspective in the U.S.

—Charles Moore
Carpinteria, Calif.

Media control

Editor:

The articles on media (ITT, March 30) are instructive, regarding the extent of concentration, the profit orientation of publishing and programming, and the confusion on what should be done.

The facts are there, and are cause for alarm. Not only do the networks earn unbelievable profits from their owned and operated stations, but in conjunction with their affiliates, they now approach near-total penetration of American homes. And the corporate empire doesn't stop at national boundaries.

ABC, for instance, was distributing 900 programs in 90 countries way back in 1969.

But what to do? The battles presently within the FCC are primarily corporate family feuds—the burgeoning "would-be" major network (Westinghouse) versus the established "Big 3." As Herbert Schiller noted, breaking up the concentration into multiple enterprises won't alter the profit orientation of the emergent entities even were it to succeed.

But is government ownership the solution? The present trend in public broadcasting—with its grants and funding originating from Exxon, Mobil and Congress—certainly compromises its independence. Can the media be run independent of the profit motive and corporate control and also independent of a government seeking to impose its views?

If public ownership is to be desirable, we must map out an approach to insure democratic forms of control. Otherwise, government ownership merely trades one master for another. If we can honestly appraise the totalitarian potentials inherent in both corporate and government control of communications, then we can begin to explore a future where the people gain control over technology.

—Mark Cohen
Winston-Salem, N.C.

A Soviet faux pas

Editor:

Sometimes a perfunctory, even banal, effort contains elements that unexpectedly and uniquely illuminate an entire complex. Certainly Sergei Gusev, USSR De-

puty Prosecutor General, in a statement published by the *New York Times* (Feb. 23) concerning Soviet scientist Andre Sakharov, could not have had an inkling of this. If so, his article would not have seen print. Too late now.

Gusev cites and quotes title 18 paragraph 2385 of the U.S. Code to buttress his argument for Soviet repression of free speech. Most Americans reading that reference must have gulped hard, amazed that such god-awful legislation might actually be on the books. The simple and stunning answer is that Gusev approvingly quoted the Smith Act, the main legal instrument for the wave of anti-communist, cold war hysteria that swept our country in the late '40s through the '50s, and sent the leadership of the American Communist party to jail, forcing the organization virtually underground.

Years of legal defense and opposition among a wide variety of people of which Gusev is obviously ignorant, eventually resulted in the Supreme Court nullifying as unconstitutional the provisions of that odious law.

The harm of the Smith Act was not merely the suppression of the American CP, which in fact had little political influence, but its grave subversion of our basic democratic rights. And it was those very constitutional rights that were successfully utilized in order to stem the repressive authoritarianism of the times. One wonders what thoughts occurred to American Communists who read Gusev's gaucherie, particularly those who went to jail or were otherwise persecuted, but who still think of the Soviet Union as the pinnacle of democracy.

It is easy to see what attracted the eye of reigning Soviet legal authority to the now-dead Smith Act. Although it is much wordier and quite lumbering, the Act decreed the same kind of sweeping, Inquisition-like prohibitions found in the notorious articles 70 and 190 of the Soviet criminal code banning "slander against the state."

Sakharov has suggested that a recent Moscow subway explosion could be the work of the secret police, or a branch of it. Gusev replies that airing this possibility *ipso facto* constitutes culpable "slander" and emphasizes that he and his colleagues will uphold the law as empowered by his office—explicitly so in fact by article 113 of the Soviet constitution itself.

For over 20 years during the Stalin period, the Soviet secret police systematically violated Soviet laws and its constitution with impunity. Then, as now, the office of the State Prosecutor was charged with seeing that the law was upheld and equal for all. How could one have known then, or now, what goes on in the Soviet, or other, body politic, and take appropriate measures? Clearly, through public debate, the open clash of opinions and unrelenting enquiry; in short, the democratic process.

With such a continuing blindness towards the lessons of history and politics of their own country (and of ours), it can hardly be a surprise that the official Soviet version of communism is being challenged from a democratic perspective by increasing numbers of Communists, especially in Western Europe and Japan.

—Matthew Borenstein
New York City

Salvador Luria

Cancers and circulatory diseases are diseases of development



Circulatory diseases and cancer are today the two worst killers in the United States and in other industrialized countries in which the diseases of insufficient nutrition and poor sanitation have been to a large extent eliminated. Circulatory diseases and cancer have in common that they are "diseases of development." By development we mean the process that leads from a single cell—a fertilized egg in a mother's womb—to the production of an adult body consisting of more than one thousand billion cells. The program of development is contained in the genes of the individual and determines that some cells will go to form the liver, other will make the brain, or the heart, or the arteries, and so on. The genetic program also determines which cells continue to multiply and ultimately die (like those of the skin or the lining of the intestine) and which cells stop multiplying and last throughout the life of the organism (like the nerve and muscle cells).

What goes wrong when a cancer starts? One or a few cells fail to obey the program, multiply out of control, destroy their neighbors, and ultimately kill the individual unless they are removed by surgery or killed by radiation or by chemicals—treatments that only succeed if they are applied early enough to destroy all the cancer cells.

Superficially, circulatory diseases are different: abnormal lumps begin to bulge inside the arteries and narrow the channels where blood must pass. Finally they cause the formation of blood clots. The narrow-

ing and obstruction of arteries are the major causes both of heart attacks and strokes.

These arterial damages are actually developmental abnormalities. Normal development produces smooth, even arterial walls. The lumps arise because of the abnormal behavior of a few cells within the walls. A new theory put forward on good evidence by Dr. Earl Benditt of the University of Washington suggests that each lump in an artery comes from a single cell that starts growing out of order, just as cancer cells grow out of control. The lumps are of course "benign" rather than malignant like cancer. They do not destroy their neighbors. But by choking our blood vessels they can kill us. In both cases, at the root of the disease there are single, mutated cells.

The concept of cancers and circulatory diseases as disorders of development is important when viewed from the standpoint of biomedical research. The chemical controls of development—the mechanisms that determine which cells in a developing organism will stop dividing and when—are still almost completely unknown. In other words, the unfolding of the program, the growth of embryo from egg and of adult from embryo, although well described by anatomists and physiologists, remain major mysteries from the point of view of biochemistry. How do the genes in one group of cells send signals to other cells so that, for example, our liver or brain or kidney grows just so much and

in such precise shape? And why does an abnormal cell fail to obey the signals?

Some of the major recent advances in biology, of which I may write in another article, have uncovered the biochemical mechanisms by which the function of genes is regulated in bacteria. Unfortunately, it turns out that the cells of animals and their regulatory controls are more complicated. The ways they influence each other in the body are probably more subtle. The nature of these influences is unsolved, although some of the most experienced biologists are hard at work to decipher them. My guess is that it may take another ten years of efforts to get the answers.

It is hard to predict how much this knowledge, once acquired, will contribute to the prevention or curing of cancer and circulatory disease. Understanding is not always the same as correcting. Yet the history of medicine gives us reason to hope.

For example, understanding the phenomena of immunity led to the eradication of many infectious diseases through vaccination and to progress in treatment of allergies. Likewise, the science of endocrinology (the study of hormones) has provided treatments for diabetes and for many other disorders. On the other hand, with bacterial infections success came from drugs, like penicillin and other antibiotics, whose curative virtues were discovered empirically, before scientists knew how they worked. The only conclusion we can draw is that both routes—the empirical search for useful treatments and the scientific

search for the causes of the disorders at the cellular level—must be pursued in the battle against cancer and circulatory diseases, the gravest disorders of cellular development.

From the socialist perspective, however, problems can never be approached only with narrow scientific or medical views. The biomedical scientist must face the question, What would be, in present day society, the consequences of eliminating diseases like cancer or heart attacks?

Elimination of cancer would add two to three years to the average life expectancy. Elimination of circulatory diseases might add five, or ten, or more years. Is a society based on individual competition and ruled by the capitalist profit motive capable of handling an enormous increase in the number of old people? Especially in the light of already present neglect of the old, who are increasingly dealt with as useless burdens to society?

At this point the medical scientist must turn, not only sociologist, but socialist. Even if progress in eliminating diseases is not to be blocked by the fear of possible social consequences, scientists should warn the public of the consequences of their work. They should themselves feel the responsibility to help create that socialist world that alone can make fully human use of the products of science.

Salvador Luria is a Nobel laureate in biochemistry and a professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. His column appears regularly.

Robert Lekachman

Carter's economic proposals are no more adequate than Eisenhower's

Out of fear of inflation, Eisenhower conferred three recessions upon his countrymen. The last one, 1959-1960, just sufficed to allow John F. Kennedy to squeak through over Richard Nixon. During the reign of Eisenhower the Good, conventional economic wisdom held that unemployment was mostly a structural problem. Out there were hordes of semi-literate, undisciplined, work-shy types who worked only out of compulsion or dire necessity.

Kennedy promised to get the country moving again, about the only specific commitment he made in the course of a campaign as vague as Jimmy Carter's. It was the young president's good luck that the economy in early 1961 began to recover of its own accord, but at a rate so painfully deliberate that unemployment stayed high. His advisers urged him to stimulate the economy but divided over the best method. From his embassy in New Delhi, John Kenneth Galbraith urged his friend in the White House to go for \$10 or \$12 billion of spending on social programs. Council of Economic Advisers chairman Walter Heller opted for tax cuts largely on the ground of their superior popularity in Congress.

Heller, of course, won and at the end of 1962 Kennedy submitted to Congress an \$11 billion tax reduction program. Although Congress failed to enact it until February 1964, its imminence did much to raise business and consumer confidence and spending, and its actual enactment prolonged economic expansion into the middle of 1965 after which Vietnam served as the equivalent of a massive public works program of a uniquely wasteful nature.

I recall this comparatively ancient poli-

tical history to place in proper perspective Carter's economic proposals. In 1962 unemployment averaged 5.6 percent, a figure regarded as highly unsatisfactory by Kennedy economists who defined 4 percent as an interim target enroute to the 3 percent then defined as full employment. Unemployment in 1976 averaged 7.7 percent. The current CEA chairman, Charles Schultze, testified in January that the Carter administration anticipated that by the end of 1976 unemployment will sink well below 6 percent. In other words, at the end of the third year of a "liberal" Democratic administration, unemployment will approximate the figure that sufficed 15 years ago to alarm another Democratic administration.

The rhetoric that clothes these tiny goals echoes the 1950s. There is the difficulty of employing women and young workers who, as the delicate cliché goes, are less attached to the labor force and are in any case less susceptible to pain and disappointment than white, adult male workers. And there is the menace of inflation. As *Business Week* explained this menace in a recent issue, as soon as the business community suspects a serious effort to move the economy along a growth path likely to terminate in full employment, businessmen become alarmed about inflation and the danger of price controls. So they raise their prices ahead of time, hoping to create a satisfactory base level should the controls actually be applied. In its innocent way, *Business Week* is conceding the sort of monopolistic and oligopolistic control over their prices that allows large corporations to choose between high volume and low prices and low volume and high prices.

This reasoning is not lost on Jimmy

Carter and his helpers. The President has retreated steadily from his support of standby wage controls during the campaign and even from so mild a requirement upon large corporations as mandatory prenotification of their latest plan to extort higher prices from their markets. Now if the prospect of high employment is enough to cause inflation and genuinely effective public restraint of pricing in concentrated industries is rejected, then logic describes the necessity of running the economy at continuously high rates of unemployment.

Such, in truth, is the tacit assumption of the Carter legislative package. If Mr. Carter had desired a degree of economic stimulus proportional to the 1977 size of the American economy and the 1977 price level, he would have asked Congress for a \$33 billion stimulus. If he had recognized the difference between the shallow 1959-60 recession and the deep mini-recession of 1973-75, he would have designed a \$40-45 billion combination of expenditure and tax changes. Instead he presented Congress a \$16 billion first-year program, half the size of the Kennedy program to treat a problem twice as grave.

There is a political lesson in all this for those of us on the left. After eight years of Nixon and Ford, the country is in its most conservative mood since Eisenhower. Congressional rejection of common sense and the probability that the administration's disappointing proposal to raise the minimum wage by less than its value has been eroded by inflation, will be accepted by Congress, are signs of the galloping moderation of this overwhelmingly Democratic Congress. One is tempted to say that the Meany wing of the AFL-CIO has got what it de-

served when it puts its chips on Henry Jackson last year, presumably because his hardline defense and anti-communist views appealed to our durable George. A united labor effort for Birch Bayh, Hubert Humphrey, or Mo Udall might have stopped Carter and installed a president genuinely concerned with full employment at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

The moral of all this is both clear and depressing. Labor unions, left liberals and radicals can expect little more from Carter than from Ford. The rhetoric is sweeter. Verbal commitments to youth programs and other job creation efforts are more profuse. But very little will happen in the absence of tremendous public pressure upon both the White House and the Congress. The AFL-CIO committed a major blunder this year in not pushing urgently for the Humphrey/Hawkins full employment bill. It is not quite too late to regroup around probably the most unifying of social objectives for conservatives and radicals. For the first, there is the appeal of taking people off the welfare rolls and putting them on payrolls, to paraphrase the language of the departed Nixon. For the latter, full employment is the best way in a conservative country to redistribute income, enhance human dignity, and diminish social injustice. The glum political scene makes it all the more urgent that full employment become the Number One priority of the entire American loose coalition of liberals, radicals and reasonable conservatives.

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LIFE IN THE U.S.

SPORTS

By Anne Gibbons and Stephanie Twin

Colgate women's games: anyone can participate

Colgate officials point to cutbacks in N. Y. area athletic programs and personnel and see private industry filling a void left by government.

►High attendance.

One weekend in late January Brooklyn N.Y.'s Pratt Institute Field House swarmed with 17,000 young women. Schoolchildren, teenagers, college students—they waited expectantly, hopping up and down, stretching or just standing around. The atmosphere was tense and excited, and remained that way for two days.

A rock concert? Teenyboppers in line for Rolling Stones tickets? No, it was the first preliminary for the Colgate Women's Games in track and field. Since their inception in 1975, participation in the games has more than tripled.

Of the 17,000 who entered the preliminaries in January only 205 made it to the finals in Madison Square Garden March 21. But the other thousands got everything in the intervening eight weeks of preliminaries and semi-finals—from t-shirts, points and medals to a sense of themselves as athletes.

The Colgate games are unique in women's sports, being not only the largest event, but the only one open to urban women of all ages and skill levels. As a Colgate official put it, "Track requires no special equipment or great training. You just get out there and run." Participants ranged from the inexperienced to track team members and Olympians.

Of the teams, the Flashettes, a neighborhood club from Brooklyn, had the largest number of finalists, 28. But the program at P.S. 146 in the Bronx was probably more typical of most competitors' training.

Coach Don Potash organized the after-school club nearly a year before the first Colgate Games, simply because the grade-schoolers were interested. They competed in A.A.U. and Road Runner meets, and left membership open to anyone, even non-students. The team now has 25 members who practice at least three times a week. Distance runners go three to four miles a session.

In the finals at the Garden, one of the more exhilarating races was the High School 400 Meters. Maritza Anderson, a 17-year-old Bedford-Stuyvesant girl, made a dramatic come-from-behind finish. Though ranked fifth, and running decidedly third in her group of three (the track was too narrow for all six to run together), she sputtered ahead in the closing seconds. It looked calculated and professional, an observation that makes her laugh. It just happened, she claimed, adding that she had practiced hard for four years and competed in various local events. She belongs to a New York Police Athletic League team, one of the few that organization sponsors for girls.

There were several outstanding aspects to the finals. In contrast to past, poorly-attended women's basketball events at the Garden, the stands were packed. Roughly 13,000 of the 17,500 seats were filled. Luminaries such as Mayor Abraham Beame, Bella Abzug, Bruce Jenner, Ken Norton, Willie Mays, Frank Gifford, former Olympic skier Suzy Chaffee and tennis's Martina Navratilova dotted the arena's inner area.

Both the audience and participants were overwhelmingly black. Only in the two 1500 meter runs (the longest) did whites predominate. "This is all the whites have to hold on to," two black teenage males happily snickered. Neither could really explain this marked racial division, except to note that it was generally true. Anderson felt that the preliminaries' loca-

tion in Bedford-Stuyvesant disproportionately discouraged whites. However, she observed that her own P.A.L. coach advises the only white team to run distance and never sprints. When Anderson asks him why, he shrugs and laughs.

No one, in fact, really knows why. The Colgate official feels the city's racial make-up accounted for the heavy black turnout, but that doesn't explain white predominance in distance events. Perhaps the different ways blacks and whites live within the city is a factor: black children learn to sprint on city streets, whereas whites have more access to open, uncrowded areas. Some people vaguely suggest a physical differential, either genetic or, more plausibly, cultural. Blacks are obviously socialized early on to a unique style of motion, seen in rhythm and dance, which may carry over into sport.

►Corporate presence.

Another notable feature of the finals was the corporate presence that permeated the event. At one end of the cavernous hall hung an American flag over three neon signs extolling Schaefer Beer, Coca Cola and the New York-New Jersey Pontiac Dealers. A Colgate Women's Game pennant swung in front. At the other end, two richly woven white, blue and gold panels proclaimed the New York Knicks 1970 and 1973 World Champions. Beneath, United Nations emblems surrounded a red Colgate flag.

Colgate explains its promotion of women's track—and golf, in the annual Col-

gate/Dinah Shore pro match—with the concept of "corporate citizenship": a corporation's responsibility to a community, especially where it's headquartered. This was why the Games were limited to New York City and Jersey City residents. Colgate officials also point to cutbacks in area athletic programs and personnel. New York City's deteriorating financial situation has compounded its traditional neglect of women's athletics.

The "city's girls and young women were literally hungry for an athletic program like this," Colgate chairman David R. Foster claims. In other words, private industry sees itself filling a void left by government. "I think that private industry may be our answer," Meet director and Atoms Club president Fred Thompson directly states. "We'll be glad to pass on our blueprint to corporations in other cities to help them start programs of their own." It was either ironic or fitting—depending on the point of view—that Mayor Beame, who has presided over the dismantling of city programs, appeared as an honored guest.

Should corporations sponsor athletic events? Some people denounce this as "Corporate colonization," a profiteering usurpation of the sport experience. On the other hand, almost all American sport depends on corporate support, either in advertising or outright ownership.

Colgate considers its investment in the Women's Games to be relatively nominal: over \$24,000 worth of scholarships, t-shirts, to the 17,000 entrants, and warm-up suits for the 205 finalists. Undoubtedly the company profits in publicity, but whether this makes their involvement unwelcome is up for grabs.

Coach Potash feels the Games have stimulated girls' interest in track, as it would for boys were a similar event offered for them. (Boys at P.S. 146 have no track club.) The danger is in the public growing lax, ceding a public responsibility to the corporate world.

Anne Gibbons and Stephanie Twin live and work in New York City.

MEDIA

Labor Today celebrates its 15th anniversary

By Dan Marshall
Staff Writer

This February, *Labor Today* celebrated its 15th anniversary of publication with a dinner in Chicago attended by about 600 friends and supporters. Sponsors of the celebration included Patrick Gorman of the Amalgamated Meatcutters, Harry Bridges of the International Longshoremen (ILWU), Albert Fitzgerald of the United Electrical Workers (UE), Rep. Gus Hawkins of California and Rev. Don West of the Appalachian Folklife Center.

►Several changes over the years.

Labor Today has undergone changes in format and political approach since its first issue. It is now a 12-page tabloid newspaper subtitled "The Rank and File in Action." Its editor of the last three years has been Jim Williams, a veteran new leftist, previously editor of the *West Virginia AFL-CIO News*, assistant editor of the *Guild Reporter* and an organizer for the National Education Association (NEA).

Williams encountered *Labor Today* as a staff person for the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) in Louisville, Ky. "I had never seen anything like it," he told IN THESE TIMES. "There were some socialists in our local, but we had no contact with any socialist organizations. I thought *Labor Today* could play a good educational function."

Initially, Williams says, the journal, a

strong supporter of civil rights and anti-war movements, was primarily directed toward "union mavericks" of the day. I.W. Abel and Albert Shanker who were putting forward ideas "different from the labor consensus," contributed articles. They have long since ceased.

►A move to Chicago.

Labor Today maintained its initial character until 1968, when it moved to Chicago, adopted a magazine format, and began to reflect the rank-and-file upsurge of the late 1960s.

"The rank and file in the labor movement had begun to organize in new ways," says John Kailin, first Chicago editor. "They learned from the civil rights movement, and later from the peace movement. In a word, they took a fighting stance that challenged a quarter century of collaboration with big business."

All over the country, Kailin saw examples of the union membership in motion—the black lung movement in the coal fields, black caucuses in Detroit auto plants, organizing among public employees and the farmworkers' battle in California. *Labor Today* also began reporting on growing labor opposition to the Vietnam war.

►Stopped publishing for seven months.

While the scope and coverage of *Labor Today* grew, its sales failed to meet the spiraling expenses of producing a magazine. In August 1971, with a total circulation of about 6,000, it stopped publishing for seven months. When it started

again, much of its energy came from Adelaide Bean, a new co-editor and a veteran of labor struggles of the '30s and '40s.

Bean searched the country for "workers' correspondents" who "could share experiences, learning from each other's struggles how best to expose employer fostered racism and anti-labor propaganda, how best to build working class solidarity," she wrote in *Labor Today's* Fifteenth Anniversary issue.

The revival of *Labor Today* came through the efforts of Trade Union Action and Democracy. Founded with the paper's help in 1970, TUAD claims to be a center of initiative, resources and education for "class struggle unionism."

►Special topics.

Labor Today has lately been printing issues on special topics directly relevant to the struggle for more union democracy—features on parliamentary procedure, how to research a union or company and "Seniority and Racism: the Fight for Jobs." Steelworkers distributed about 80,000 copies of the January 1977 issue on Ed Sadlowski's campaign for president of the United Steel Workers union.

Labor Today's circulation is about 4,000, but Williams says there are subscribers in almost every state and that bundles are distributed by local unions and rank-and-file caucuses. While maintaining its organizational independence, *Labor Today* has drawn on the network of trade union activists who are said to be politically close to the Communist party U.S.A.

"Let's face it, we've been pretty hard hitting on a lot of issues and we've stepped on a lot of toes in our time," Williams recently told the *Daily World*. "But we've fought for the kinds of things this labor movement needs—more militancy, more democracy, an end to racism and for détente and trade."

"The labor movement in this country needs a whole new kind of politics that runs working people for office, instead of lawyers. We've got to break down this two-party system; the labor movement and the black community have to help form a new party. We've tried to provide some new ideas to chew on, along with news about the movement that can't be found anywhere else," he continued.

►A forum for shop workers.

Williams says the most exciting part of *Labor Today* is that it provides a forum for shop workers to discuss their experiences and organizing problems. He hopes to expand the size and frequency of the paper and confront the needs of rank-and-file workers who are now union stewards and presidents. "We hope to continue to give them material of immediate value along with the analysis that will point them in the right direction in the long run," he told IN THESE TIMES.

Williams cites an old expression that the purpose of a newspaper is to "comfort the afflicted and to afflict the comfortable." The purpose of *Labor Today*, he says, is "to organize the afflicted."

FADS & FANTASIES

Roadblocks in the CB future

By David Helvarg

Just after dawn Oct. 27, 1976, armed federal agents launched a series of simultaneous raids across three counties in northern Maryland. Houses were broken into and people held at gunpoint. Furniture, drapes and carpets were stripped away in the search that followed. Over a dozen people were arrested and over \$65,000 dollars of contraband seized.

Was the FBI busting underground bomb factories? Drug Enforcement Administration narcs going after illicit drugs? No, these were U.S. marshals acting under the direction of a Federal Communications Commission strike force. The target: an unlicensed CB radio club using illegal, power amplifying, high-gain and side-bar antennae.

There are now some 20 million people "modulating" American airwaves on radios. Some are members of establishment-oriented clubs like ALERT, REACT and HELP, which monitor the Channel 9 emergency band in the hope that they can participate in dramatic rescues and searches or in the capture of fleeing criminals.

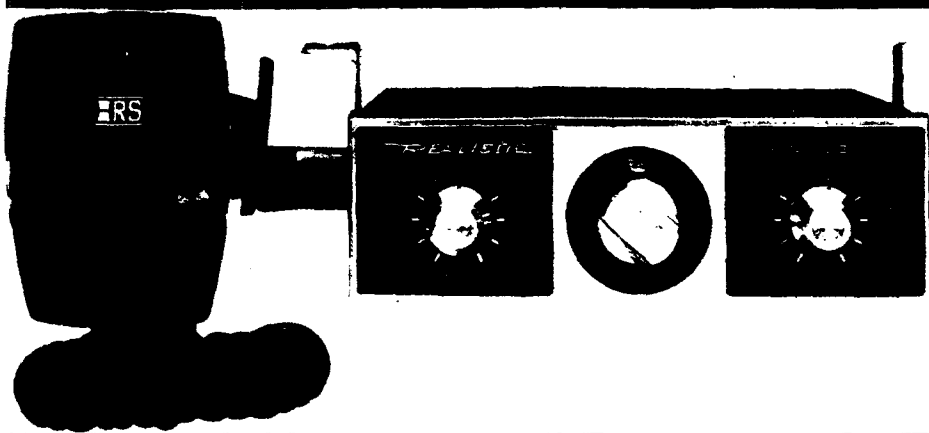
Others belong to unlicensed "renegade" clubs that use their own licensing and jargon, and "squat" on whatever bands serve their purpose. One such club in California is rumored to have close to 50,000 members, and is said to have staged a number of alcoholic orgies in deserted supermarket parking lots and helped several fleeing felons elude the "Bear."

Most CBers, however, are unaffiliated independents, like *IN THESE TIMES'* Montana Jackalope, and few of their number are aware of the growing threat to their activities being created today by various corporate, atmospheric and governmental agencies.

Following a recent government report that suggested that AM and FM listening audiences would decrease 15 percent by 1981 as a direct result of Citizens Band radio, the National Association of Broadcasters commissioned the Washington based consulting firm of Frazier, Gross and Clay to produce an analysis of CB radio's impact on commercial stations, with an eye towards adversary action.

ABC recently joined with 170 other TV station owners to petition the FCC to reconsider its decision extending the number of CB channels to 40, arguing that they seriously interfere with TV reception. CB industry representatives successfully defended the 40 channel decision, arguing in part that it would provide space to allow "planned and rational growth within the industry."

Over the past four years, CB has mushroomed into a billion dollar market that includes magazines, books and dirty movies. One inspired CB executive recently de-



clared that "Citizens Band radio is the electronics industries first hula-hoop."

One reason for the widespread success of CB over the past several years may have been clarity of broadcast during an extended low point in an 11-year cycle of sunspot activity. An increase in sunspots may soon put an end to that. Under normal conditions, CB waves tend to travel in a straight line, with ranges up to 30 miles. But during periods of high sunspot activity CB waves can bounce off of the lowered ionosphere, "skipping" signals across the country or even to other continents. The effect of this is often to create a "babble" where instead of ten to 20 voices on a channel, you're blasted with several thousand—an indecipherable din.

Because of "skipping," CBers operating illegally in the future may have to content themselves with greatly shortened lines of communication, perhaps in the one to two mile category. Others may try to "punch" their way through the electronic clutter with illegal power amplifiers. Still others may try and take advantage of the skip conditions in order to racket-mouth with people in far off distant lands, despite the fact that it is illegal to broadcast over 150 miles.

According to a secret study prepared for the White House Office of Telecommunications by the Boston based Arthur D. Little think tank: "The orderly use of CB radio has broken down due to sheer volume and the inability of the FCC to cope with regulatory enforcement needs. ...Abuses run the gamut from the illegal use of high-power amplifiers and high-gain antennas to increase communications range, to unlicensed operation and violation of the operation rules, which leads to sheer anarchy..."

Among the report's more disturbing recommendations are those involving ATIS, voice prints and expansion of the FCC's strike force units from the present four to 83.

ATIS, the Automatic Transmitter Identification System, has been under development since 1974. With the simple insertion of a crystal chip into the transmitter of a CB set, this system would allow a central government computer to record an elec-

tronic signal identifying the locale, duration and power of each transmission.

Another recommendation calls for a voice print file on every holder of a CB license. If computerized, this system would allow the FCC to identify anyone modulating off their "handle" rather than their license number, as the law requires. With voice prints, an FCC monitor tuning into the "Montana Jackalope" would be able to ascertain his real name and home address within 30 seconds.

The enlarged number of FCC strike forces would travel different regions of the country in vans equipped with advanced scanning equipment, directional finders and mobile hook-ups to regional voice-print analysers. They would also be responsible for raids, such as the one that took place in Maryland this October.

The mass "recreational" use of CB can be traced to publicity received at the time of the 1973 Independent Truckers strike. That protest, against the rise in the price of diesel fuel brought on by the oil companies' artificial energy crisis, was organized and coordinated largely by CB radio. The potential for political organizing through the medium of CBs open air waves might have a lot of Washington bureaucrats and New York corporate kingpins praying for bad weather on the sun.

David Helvarg is a writer living in San Diego.

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Changing times changed Cleaver

By Art Goldberg

Many people have been dismayed recently to find Eldridge Cleaver speaking on television or quoted in the newspapers denouncing socialist countries, extolling the virtues of the American system, and explaining how Charles Colson has become his "brother in Christ."

How, they have wondered, could such an eloquent spokesman for the oppressed and the alienated in the '60s, so radically change his views? What happened during his seven-year exile to move him from the far left over to the right?

I worked closely with Eldridge at *Ramparts* just before he went into exile, and we share mutual friends and acquaintances. Those who've been in touch with him in the recent past say that Cleaver hasn't changed much personally. What has changed, however, are the times, and the circumstances Eldridge found himself in when he decided to return to the U.S. in November 1975.

►Like a monarch.

Back in the '60s, when Cleaver was desperately trying to get out of San Quentin, the people who helped him were leftists. Attorney Beverly Axelrod battled the California Adult Authority until it granted Eldridge a parole. Critic Maxwell Geismar made valuable suggestions about the *Soul On Ice* manuscript and saw that it was published. *Ramparts* gave him the job he needed to get the parole, and Huey Newton gave him a quick political education.

Eldridge's basic instincts were towards the left when he got out of prison, but he was more into black art and black nationalism until he met Newton and Bobby Seale, and started working at *Ramparts*.

His own speaking and writing talents, his imposing presence, his charismatic personality, and the success of *Soul On Ice* quickly catapulted him into national prominence. The April 1968 shootout with the Oakland police in which Panther treasurer Bobby Hutton was killed and Cleaver himself wounded only added to the mystique. When he was released on bail in June 1968, he was a left superstar.

Except for the shootout indictment in Oakland, Cleaver seemed to have it made. He was the leader of a major political movement, he was invited to speak everywhere, he was constantly on radio or TV, he could write anything he chose to in *Ramparts*, and he was running for president on the Peace and Freedom party ticket. As an admirer once wrote, he "moved around the [black] community like a monarch."

The California Appeals Court decision ordering him back to prison punctured the balloon. Eldridge was extremely confident of winning the Oakland case, but he was not sure he would survive if he was imprisoned before the trial. So in late November 1968, he disappeared, and turned up in Cuba a month or two later.

►From Cuba to Algeria.

Once there, Cleaver learned to his chagrin that he would not be permitted to comment publicly on events inside the U.S., nor would he be allowed to organize paramilitary guerilla teams and infiltrate them back into the U.S. The Cubans feared that either activity could provide the excuse for another American invasion.

The sudden withdrawal from the media spotlight proved to be difficult, and one visitor reported that Cleaver sometimes walked around Havana conspicuously holding a copy of *Soul On Ice*. By mid-1969, he'd had enough of Cuba, and made arrangements to go to Algeria, a nominally socialist country that had no extradition treaty with the U.S.

For a time, Cleaver flourished in Algeria, making contact with the Palestine Liberation Organization, writing articles for the Panther newspaper, and meeting with reporters. In the summer of 1970, he led a delegation of "anti-imperialist" Americans on a tour of North Korea, China and Vietnam. When he returned



Ex-Watergate Chuck Colson and ex-Black Panther Eldridge Cleaver enjoy a cozy chat.

to Algiers, President Huari Boumedienne hailed him as a "revolutionary hero" and turned the former embassy of Vietnam's National Liberation Front over to Cleaver to use as the Black Panther party's international headquarters.

Shortly afterwards, the Weather Underground broke Dr. Timothy Leary out of a California prison and spirited him to Algiers with the idea that he and Cleaver could unite the political and "cultural" strains of the new left. This hope never materialized, and by January 1971, Leary was under "house arrest" on Cleaver's orders.

The "revolutionary bust" as Eldridge termed it, was supposedly made because of Leary's indiscreet use of drugs, but visitors in Algiers then, people whose first loyalty was to the Panthers, later reported that Leary's behavior had been exemplary, and it was Cleaver whose behavior was eccentric. They believed that the power Eldridge was given in Algeria went to his head, and that he resented the media attention Leary was getting.

►Break with Newton.

A month after the Leary incident, Cleaver publicly denounced Huey Newton on a telephone hookup arranged by a San Francisco radio station. Newton then expelled Cleaver from the Panthers, touching off a bitter intra-party feud that resulted in several deaths. The International Section in Algiers functioned as a separate entity for a time, but Cleaver soon found that on the international level, he didn't have much leverage as an individual. It was the Panther party that was important to the rest of the world.

The break with Newton also cost the International Section its Panther funds; after a time the financial situation became desperate. Eventually, the Algiers group split; Cleaver moved to an apartment, others took over from him. At one point, two planes were hijacked, flown to Algeria and held for ransom. The ransom money quickly found its way to the International Section, much to the annoyance of the Algerian government, which raided the headquarters and returned the money to the airlines.

Cleaver went to France in 1973, indicating that he was through with politics

and had resumed writing. It was an open secret that he was living in Paris, where he received a stream of visitors, but the U.S. never moved to have him extradited. By 1974 Cleaver was actively contacting his old friends in the U.S., urging them to find ways for him to return.

Jerry Rubin flew to Paris with his guru of the moment, Werner Ehrhard, the founder of *est*. The plan was to have Cleaver charm Ehrhard into financing his legal defense, but nothing came of it. Cleaver's leftist friends proposed various "scenarios" for his return. One of these revolved around Eldridge completing another book, and returning as a "black writer" rather than as a "black revolutionary," a stance from which most of his former friends would have rallied to his support.

►A deal?

However, in mid-1975 Cleaver's publisher rejected his manuscript, and the money he expected never materialized. His friends proposed other scenarios that Cleaver never approved. He told his friends to hurry, and informed journalist Stew Albert that he had already been offered a deal, but had turned it down. With two young children to support, Cleaver's money problems were more pressing than ever.

In November 1975 Cleaver suddenly announced that he was returning to the U.S. Several months before, he abruptly stopped communicating with his radical friends. The arrangements for his return were made through Allen Pizar, a Paris lawyer who normally represents multinational corporations. Magically, articles by Cleaver appeared in the *New York Times* and *Newsweek*, explaining his newly discovered love for the U.S. and his disillusionment with Communism.

Asked why he had returned at Kennedy Airport, Cleaver said, "I got tired of waiting for my friends in the U.S. to arrange something." Translated, that seemed to mean that with his money problems, and feeling like "a fish out of water" in Paris, he had accepted the deal that he had originally turned down.

In addition to his public statements, the deal seems to have thus far included a four month stay in a federal prison in San Diego and four months in the county jail

Cleaver today: see page 24.
He and Chuck Colson, two
born-again sinners, are making
the revival circuit together.

in Oakland. He was not sent to state prison, as he surely would have been were his case being handled routinely. In return, Cleaver has been granted what he wanted more than anything else—his release on bail before the Oakland trial, now scheduled for early May.

►His way of making money.

None of this, however, explains how Cleaver "found Christ." He now says that his first visions came while he was still in France. Maybe they did, except that he never spoke of his religious experience when he first returned to the U.S. He also says that it wasn't until his stay in the Oakland jail that his religious zeal was "reborn."

What I believe actually happened was that Cleaver was visited by a representative of either the Campus Crusade for Christ, the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, or a similar group, at whose urging I don't know. Cleaver could not get out of jail unless he posted a substantial bail bond, and he could not hire a top-flight lawyer unless he had a substantial amount of money. He had no prospects of raising money quickly. A defense fund was started for him by people like Bayard Rustin, A. Phillip Randolph and Nat Hentoff, but it was not inundated with contributions.

Half of Cleaver's \$100,000 bail was subsequently posted by Arthur DeMoss, a Pennsylvania insurance man who sits on the board of the National Campus Crusade for Christ. Since his release, Cleaver has spoken on more than 25 campuses.

Cleaver's espousal of Christianity probably can be taken with a few grains of salt. It's his way of making money right now. Besides, his grandfather was a Baptist preacher, he himself dabbled in Catholicism early in life, became a Muslim in San Quentin, and an atheist when he joined the Panthers.

Watching him on TV, I've noticed that he speaks of his religious experiences without the fire or passion he exhibits when he talks of some of his social and political concerns. This is where I believe his real interests still lie, probably more as a centrist social reformer than as a radical or revolutionary.

Art Goldberg is a Berkeley journalist.

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

FILM

Eagles has handsome Nazi paratrooper in the role of the hero

THE EAGLE HAS LANDED

Directed by John Sturges
Screenplay by Tom Mankiewicz, from a novel by Jack Higgins
Produced by Jack Weiner and David Niven Jr.
Columbia release, rated PG

It took almost 100 years to turn the Southern rebel soldier into a respectable member of our society. *The Eagle Has Landed*, a recent Columbia Pictures release, achieves redemption for the elite Nazi paratrooper and upper echelon officer in one-third that time.

Based on a novel by Jack Higgins, Tom Mankiewicz has written a fast-moving, old-fashioned adventure story about a German commando group in late 1943 trying to kidnap Winston Churchill in hopes of arranging a negotiated peace rather than the military collapse facing Germany.

The film opens with newsreel clips of Mussolini after his fall from power. So you are meant to believe the story. All the Germans in the film, with the exception of Himmler (cunningly played by Donald Pleasance), are decent types who do things like risking their lives to save little Jewish girls being shipped off to extermination camp, or jump into a millrace and losing their lives to save a little English girl from certain shredding by the

mill wheel. So early on we are relieved of the responsibility of finding our "heroes" odious. In fact the audience is placed in the peculiar position of really liking the German paratrooper Colonel Steiner (played by Michael Caine), because he's good to his men, keeps his word and generally represents all the decent virtues. (It is he who tries to save the Jewish girl from the cattle cars as he brings his exhausted commando group back from Russia.) You root for him because he's so valiant, upright and true, but he is trying to capture Churchill—and you know that's bad.

It would make the audience's situation a lot easier if the American Captain Clarke (Treat Williams) who is supposed to save the day, were less of an ass. Instead, it is the Jungian theory of synchronicity—I can't remember whether it was Col. Max Radl (Robert Duvall) or Admiral Canaris (Anthony Quayle) who brought that up—and a final plot twist that sets things to rights.

If Michael Caine is admirable as the Nazi commando leader, Donald Sutherland is dashing as the anglophobic IRA aide who almost pulls off the P.M.'s kidnapping. Liam Devlin (Sutherland) also supplies the love interest for Molly Prior, an English girl, charmingly played by Jenny Agutter. When Devlin more or



Robert Duvall as Col. Max Radl.

less walks off into the sunset, you know he will be back to claim her heart some more fortunate day.

John Sturges is a first-rate director (*Gunfight at the O.K. Corral*, *Bad Day at Black Rock*) and he gets splendid performances out of all the actors. He has been most successful with action films in the past and *The Eagle Has*

Landed is no exception. The tension builds until it explodes in a noisy battle that rages through a very quaint English village. (One of the stars of the film is the English coastline and surrounding scenery.)

If you can turn yourself upside down and see what decent chaps this particular group of Nazis were (what a pity they were on

the wrong side!) you will be able to spend an entertaining evening at a well made adventure film. If right side up is your preferred position, just remember where we'd all be if Germany had been able to bargain for truce terms.

—Mavis Lyons

Mavis Lyons is a film editor who works in New York and is *In These Times'* regular film reviewer.

Bakshi's brilliance can't save *Wizards* from simplistic story

WIZARDS

Written, directed and produced by Ralph Bakshi
Released by 20th Century-Fox, rated PG

In all his major works (*Fritz the Cat*, *Heavy Traffic*, etc.)

Ralph Bakshi has attempted to elevate the animated film above its supposed simpleness. But good animated movies have never been simpleness—conceptually or intellectually. They are accused of being so only by

simpleness critics.

Wizards, Bakshi's latest film, is another such attempt. That it fails, as have most of his others, is due to the unfortunately simplistic story. The setting is Earth, three million years after the nu-

clear holocaust. The surviving races are divided between the radioactive (mutants) and the restored (fairies and elves). The separation is emphasized by the cosmic birth of opposite twins. The good one is Avatar, peaceful but lazy. The bad one is Blackwolf. Having been driven out of the Garden, Blackwolf settles in the nether world and plots to conquer the upper one through the use of a relic of the shattered past technology, an old film projector called the dream machine.

With the help of a few reels of films from the same remote past (*Triumph of the Will*, *Alexander Nevsky*, *Zulu*, and World War II newsreel footage), Blackwolf inspires his mutant armies to attack the regions of peace and magic. When the dream machine projects the film clips during battles with the elves, the images stun them and destroy their will to resist. The new juggernaut rolls over most of civilization.

But Avatar is finally roused to a mythic quest to defeat his brother. He succeeds in saving the world, but not the film.

Bakshi's animation is brilliant, a combination of manipulated photographed footage and complex cell (drawn) work. The character representations are inventive (although they never achieve the iconographic power Bakshi wants them to have). The colors are explosive, the editing is pre-

cise and the musical track well modulated. You are drawn into Bakshi's dream world by the power of his visual and aural imagination. But the weakness of his narrative imagination subverts the impact of the whole.

Wizards is fantasy rooted in banality; good vs. evil is reduced to Nazis vs. Innocents. The spectator is forced to follow the plot along such conventional lines that neither plot nor characters can develop fully.

Bakshi's sense of humor is biting. He is capable of making something other than "just for kids" features. (This one is inappropriate for children. Mayhem is the key to its action.) But he is trapped between his desire to make politically meaningful movies and family entertainment.

There is really no need to choose between these alternatives. But there is a need to make a coherent statement along with the brilliant visual pyrotechnics. Bakshi has not done that in *Wizards*.

When he achieves an intellectual conception embodied in a story that matches his talent as an animator, he will produce the complete work of art he is striving for so energetically.

—Joe Heumann

Joe Heumann teaches media-related subjects at Eastern Illinois University and writes regularly for *In These Times*.



BOOKS

Two bright young lawyers went to work in Nixon's Washington

BRING US TOGETHER

By Leon Panetta and Peter Gall
J.B. Lippincott, N.Y. and Philadelphia,
1971

BLIND AMBITION: The White House Years

By John Dean
Simon & Schuster, N.Y., 1976

Each of these books is the story of a bright young lawyer who attained high office in the Nixon administration. It's instructive to read them together.

In one case the young man (John Dean) broke the law in order to serve Nixon's political objectives, repented, went to jail and is now looking for work. In the other, the young man (Leon Panetta) refused to break the law, was fired, switched parties, and was recently elected to Congress from the 16th (central coastal) District of California.

The careers of Dean and Panetta did not actually cross. Panetta, who was identified with the liberal wing of the California Republican party, went to Washington to help Secretary Robert Finch take hold of his responsibilities at HEW. He was elevated to head the Office of Civil Rights at the time when Nixon was dumping his "bring us together" campaign rhetoric in favor of the "Southern strategy," aimed at drawing up conservative Democrats into the Republican fold.

In *Bring Us Together* Panetta and his collaborator, Peter Gall, tell how Panetta and staff fought everyone in the administration in

defense of the Supreme Court's desegregation decision and the guidelines the Court authorized. It is a stirring, well-written story that contains new material on the way OCR worked in this and other areas. It also illumines the conflict within the Republican party that permitted the elevation of a liberal like Finch to HEW while John Mitchell was taking over the Justice department. Earl Warren's retirement from the Supreme Court resolved the contradiction. The last national impulse of California-brand liberal Republicanism was snuffed out. Finch was moved from his cabinet post to an amorphous and politically fatal spot as advisor to the President. Panetta was fired.

It is at this point in time that Dean's book begins.

During the years of Panetta's struggle in OCR, Dean was working in Justice as a Mitchell protégé. He moved into the White House as Counsel to the President after the 1970 consolidation of rightist strength in the administration. To understand what happened to Dean, one must understand the character of the man who dominated the atmosphere in which he was to work.

Richard Nixon was not just a Tricky Dick. He was evil in a quite objective sense: using his great power to deny the satisfaction of human needs (e.g., in the impounding of funds appropriated for low income family housing; dealing with bigots to keep

black children from a decent education; promoting illegal practices to distort and suppress peace activities; raining bombs on North Vietnam; exacerbating existing differences between China and the Soviet Union in the hope of shoring up the sagging world prestige of the nation he was misgoverning.

Dean's speedy ascent within the grotesque and sycophantic bureaucracy surrounding this President is the result of his confessed lust for power and privilege.

There is a scene early in the book where Dean, who has just returned from his hiring interview at San Clemente, reports to John Mitchell, "anxious for the blessings of my mentor and a bit concerned." Mitchell is the kindly, friendly man advising a junior, warning him that "it's a tough place to work," with long hours and incredible demands. To Dean's comment, "I gather it's pretty competitive up here," Mitchell replies:

"That's right. Everyone wants the President's ear and he's got only two of them.... I see a head-on collision coming between Schultz and Ehrlichman. Ehrlichman is in over his head. He likes to dabble in everything.... I'll be curious to see if Ehrlichman ever takes his foot off your shoulder. You're going to be a threat to him."

"I was flattered by the remark...."

"Schultz (Mitchell continued) can keep the President out of trouble with Ehrlichman's half-baked schemes...."

Dean profited little from Mitchell's warning, explicit or implicit. He succumbed to pressure from the triumvirate to furnish legal means of doing the illegal until suddenly he was in the eye of the storm.

When it seemed he might be called to testify to the grand jury, he told Haldeman, "My testimony will sink Mitchell and Magruder, who have obviously perjured themselves before the grand jury."

"So what?" said Haldeman.

"So. The President had decided to cut Mitchell and Magruder loose. They were now expendable because they threatened his own position. And I had a second thought: I was also expendable."

Dean went to see Mitchell, who "had been an uncle to me."

"Now [Mitchell] was asking whether I would help send him to prison for something I had broken down doors to help him cover up.... I had only hearsay knowledge that he had approved the Liddy plan after the February 4 meeting.... little or no legal evidence against him on the break-in...."

"Well, what is your speculation?" [Mitchell] asked....

"Why would he possibly ask that? I hesitated, my eyes darting around the room, before deciding to tell the truth. Mere spec-

ulation could do Mitchell no harm, I figured.... 'My strongest [speculation] is that Colson was all over you on the Liddy plan, and Haldeman was sending down pressure through Strachan. I know you weren't too excited about it, but I figure you finally said what the hell and approved it to get them off your back.'

"Mitchell turned to look at me for the first time.... 'Your theory is right,' he said quietly, 'except we thought it would be one or two times removed from the Committee [to elect Nixon].'

"My gut wrenched.... This was not John Mitchell the stonewaller.... He had just admitted to me that he had approved the Liddy plan.... He was counting on my feeling for him, laying himself in my hands.... Now I felt the razor edge between the squealer and the perjurer. I had never felt more squalid...."

John Dean is a unique human being and, at the same time, a prototype. He is, from his own description of events and his interactions, the possessive individualist of capitalist ideology, in that state of nature where "every man is the enemy of every man," standing apart from social obligation, actuated by anticipations of gain or loss. All "others" are rivals whom he faces alone and in fear.

Panetta's fate is a better one—to have been elected to Congress with the backing of thousands. But the personal drama of these two lives is not the real issue. Nor are their party designations significant. What counts for socialists is the thrust of their public activities. Whose needs did they serve? The needs of the few or the needs of the many?

—Hugh DeLacy

Hugh DeLacy is a former Congressman from the State of Washington, and was a leader of the Progressive party in 1948. He now lives in Soquel, Calif.

RECORDS

IGGY POP The Idiot



Iggy Pop: manic lyrics, subterranean sounds

THE IDIOT

Iggy Pop
Recorded by David Bowie on RCA

White Detroit rock was the music of working class kids who made no bones about it. In 1968-69, when a band like the MC5 used the word "revolution," they knew what bone-crunching violence was about, and their raw sound retained the power of a capped boot to the ribs. Iggy and the Stooges, along with the MC5 presented a musical pose that turned into a political statement. Revolutionary rhetoric was rendered musically and dramatically.

Iggy's histrionics were legendary. He attempted to incite crowds by diving into them from the stage (sometimes he wasn't caught). Once he purposely broke off a tooth with a microphone in his theater of involvement. He was an off-with-the-shirt madman who played the star as stud, taking this role back from cosmic ludicrousness to the gutter, where he thought it belonged.

The Stooges' music was terrible to the ear and songs like "Dirt," "Down on the Street" and "1969."

Another year for me and you another year with nothing to do

challenged all ideas about rock being smooth and seamless.

The MC5 featured a similar sound, accompanied by the political philosophy of the White

Panther party. While you listened to "Kick out the Jams," or "Motor City is Burning," you could read the liner notes of John Sinclair (Minister of Information of the Panthers) calling for the "creation of arrogant white men, [for the] cultural revolution through a total assault on culture," explaining that "Rock 'n' roll is the spearhead of our attack because it's so effective and so much fun." The style frightened authorities into harassing Sinclair to the point of constant imprisonments. This music made waves.

That was 1968-70. Iggy's last album in 1973 was called *Raw Power*. Columbia produced it and attempted to make Iggy a heavy metal star. It failed and Iggy retired to recover from his theatrically inspired injuries.

Iggy's current releast, *The Idiot* (sans Stooges) presents calculated ugliness set at a funereal pitch. Recorded in Berlin by David Bowie, *The Idiot* features subterranean sounds accompanied by the manic poetic lyrics of the street. Wild energy is replaced by sheer survival. This is rock played at 33 1/3, but tuned down to 15 1/2.

In "Mass Production," Iggy drones that,

I'm buried down in mass production

You're not nothing new and is accompanied by Bowie's sinister arrangements,

Though I try to die

You put me back on the line

Iggy's pain is sexual. His confusion with the roles of men and women and love have been distorted by being "on the line," and this theme is repeated throughout the album. "Dum Dum Boys," is a street song that puts Iggy's philosophy in perspective. The sounds now make sense and the lyrics amplify:

Now I'm looking for the dum dum boys the walls close in and I need some noise

Iggy remains a holdout to "pretty" rock in all its forms. Now that Bowie has made his music coherent, a song like "Sister Midnight," can release its essential rhythmic drive. The lyrics are that of the mock Oedipal dream and evoke what The Doors would have sounded like in 1977—burned out and surviving underwater.

Iggy's not a very cheerful fellow, but his despair is refreshing—because he's seen the ugliness, can't escape it, yet refuses to repress it. The earlier history of the Detroit sound has been brought up to date. As Iggy sings "all aboard for funtime," you realize that this music was not intended as a joke at all.

—Joe Heumann

Minimal rock: from telegraphic to telepathic

MARQUEE MOON

Television
Elektra Records

"Television" is a group out of New York that plays bare-bone music, or what may be termed Minimal Rock. This sound and sensibility first surfaced with the Velvet Underground in the late 1960s. The Underground's objective was to produce a state of mind that was couched in a musical form intentionally spare. Lou Reed and John Cale, the leaders of that group, are now the patriarchs of the minimal movement, and Television reveals such influence. The group intends to produce recorded music that is analogous to their live performances. Like the Patti Smith Group (another New York minimal band on the Arista label), Television is led by a poetic light, Tom Verlaine. He writes all the lyrics, plays guitar and sings the distant lead vocals. The music of *Marquee Moon* goes from the telegraphic to the telepathic, reducing energetic motion and sound to create a coherent, complete field of communication.

In contrast with the rise of the punk rock bands (Ramones, Eddie and the Hot Rods) Television's sound is not the result of a lack of musical ability, but of a desire to dramatize a low-energy current. Even the albums hardest cut, "See No Evil," is curiously detached. The production values are skeletal, with a minimum of

dubbing, instrument and voice overlays.

Television's audience is limited to the minimal movement itself. The popular market won't be cracked by this group, because they refuse to make concessions to current taste. They demand involvement, but preach entropy. Their musical message is so clear that only those committed to rock as a form will take the time to understand them.

Their strategy of forcing a distance between the consumer and the product is enforced by Verlaine himself. He has a weak reedy voice, but sings all the leads. His dissonance is backed by the bleak accompaniment of drums, bass and guitar duets and is the focal point for the group's atonal stance. The lyrics constantly deal with the two-sidedness of perception, forcing a sense of tension that helps to neutralize the band's passion. Their music becomes crystallized, the sound frozen in amber.

In the title cut, Verlaine sings:

I remember how the darkness doubled I recall lightning struck itself

This is urban intellectual rock. It doesn't extoll physical rebellion of youth, but presents introspective weariness and should be heard for the special way it uses the form of rock as a complete medium of musical expression.

—Joe Heumann

BOOKS

Ivan Chonkin, authentic hero vs. unauthentic power

THE LIFE AND EXTRAORDINARY ADVENTURES OF PRIVATE IVAN CHONKIN
by Vladimir Voinovich
Translated by Richard Lourie
Farrar, Strauss, Giroux, New York, 1977,
\$10.

During the warmest period of the cultural thaw in the Soviet Union, literary liberals succeeded in widening the range, genres and bite of Soviet fiction. Solzhenitsyn's *First Circle* and *Cancer Ward* were both begun in this hopeful period. And so was Vladimir Voinovich's *The Life and Extraordinary Adventures of Private Ivan Chonkin*.

The renewal of harsh literary controls, signaled by the arrest of Sinyavsky and Daniel in 1965, ended the thaw. But the seeds planted in that period have proved harder than anyone might have expected. A number of important works produced since then have been published abroad and have also had wide circulation in *samizdat* (underground periodicals) in the Soviet Union.

Vladimir Voinovich is a young writer, first published in the Krushchev years. His *Ivan Chonkin* was announced in *Novy Mir* in 1963. It became impossible to publish it in the Soviet Union, and it was first published (in Russian) in Paris in 1975. The Farrar, Strauss, Giroux edition is a translation of that text, and it is an excellent one, effectively conveying Voinovich's racy prose style.

The novel, as short and spare as Solzhenitsyn's are long and dense, extends the rich tradition of Soviet satire established in the 1920s by Ilf and Petrov, Olesha and others who used the form to criticize Soviet society and the embourgeoisment of the Revolution.

Ivan Chonkin is an unheroic



Author Vladimir Voinovich

peasant conscript, "short of stature, bowlegged and even [with] red ears." His story is, on the face of it, absurdly simple. On the eve of Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union, military authorities detail Private Chonkin to guard an airplane that has made a forced landing on a collective farm. They fit him out with a week's rations and then forget about him. Having no clear orders, he muddles through a while, then moves in with Nurka, the young postmistress next to whose farmplot the plane has come down.

The German invasion causes his military superiors to abandon Chonkin utterly. He manages to live by helping Nurka with her farm and household chores and, but for a malicious denunciation to the secret police, might be guarding that downed plane yet. But the local NKVD, seeing in this "mysterious, malingering soldier" a chance to "strengthen control at the rear," sends a detail to capture him. Chonkin uses his outrageously outmoded rifle to capture the posse, keeps them under guard and sets them to work as a labor

The gelding is found dead, lying on a piece of paper on which is written: 'If I perish, I ask to be considered a Communist.'

brigade on the collective farm. An army regiment, on its way to the front, is diverted to wipe out Chonkin's "gang of saboteurs." He and Nurka hold them off long enough for Ivan to be recognized as an authentic hero, standing against unauthentic power. But in the end, he is taken away by men in gray to face an uncertain, but open-ended fate.

On the screen of this tale, Voinovich projects devastating images of Soviet life and institutions. The collective farm is a triumph of inefficiency. Its head man is a drunk who understands that "the paper signifying [that] the work was completed was more important . . . than the work itself," unable to act in even the most serious emergency without orders from higher authorities. The district newspaper prints no news about the outbreak or progress of the war, but runs a forum on Soviet etiquette.

The most mordant of the satire is directed against the dead hand of the Stalinist bureaucracy, in particular "the Institution" (the NKVD), which views the German invasion as an opportunity to expand its "crippling war against its own citizens"—and against Voinovich's main enemy, the narrow scientific effort to control life.

The key figure here is Kuzma Gladishev, Nurka's neighbor, whose "learning" is symbolized by his having an English language sign on his outhouse—"Water Closet." Gladishev fancies himself a scientist. His life's ambi-

tion is to use the "progressive teachings of Michurin and Lysenko . . . to create a hybrid of the potato and the tomato" to be called "Path to Socialism" or PATS. It is Gladishev, incensed that Nurka's cow has slipped into his garden and eaten all his PATS plants, who denounced Ivan to the NKVD.

In a series of dreams, mixing the animals of the collective with the events of the day, Voinovich creates a fantasy world in which the lines between the political world of human society and the natural world are elided. Toward the end of the novel a second hero emerges—the horse Osoviakhim, gelded some eight years earlier by Gladishev. He appears in one of the dreams and tells Gladishev that "as a result of my painstaking work, I have finally turned into a human being." The gelding escapes at a critical moment, is picked up, but not fed by the District Institution, and at the end is found dead, lying on a piece of paper on which is written in large schoolboy script:

"If I perish, I ask to be considered a Communist."

The Life and Extraordinary Adventures of Private Ivan Chonkin should be a delight to readers who are sated with Solzhenitsyn but still interested in Soviet fiction that illumines the world Stalin made.

—Carol Gayle Moodie

Carol Gayle Moodie teaches Russian history at Lake Forest College.

USSR guide for American tourists

THE COMPLETE GUIDE TO THE SOVIET UNION

By Victor and Jennifer Louis
St. Martin's Press, N.Y., 1976, \$17.95

Last year 100,000 tourists from the U.S.A. traveled to the Soviet Union (official figures from the Intourist representative in New York). That is not a large percentage of the total number of Americans going abroad, but it is impressive.

There are a plethora of tourist guides and general travel books for Americans going to the usual (and even the unusual) places abroad (Fodor, Fielding, etc.). Not so for books on travel to the Soviet Union. Most of the recent guides came out in the '50s and '60s, including the more or less official *Your Trip to the USSR* (which is small but good) and Nagel's *USSR Travel Guide* (1965), which is adequate. None of them is, in my opinion, equal to the famous pre-revolutionary Baedeker, *Russia*.

The Victor and Jennifer Louis book is certainly new and refreshing. Like most good guides, it is divided alphabetically, city by city. There are interesting thumbnail historical sketches, not only for important cities, but for all the 15 separate Soviet national (constituent) republics.

\$2.95 ought to be tops for items like guides that are out of date as soon as they're published.

The Louises list the popular foods of each nationality and the national (and Russian) restaurants, city by city. The specialties of the restaurants are sometimes noted, but not always, and the quality of the food is not evaluated. Some judgment of this kind would certainly help the novice traveler.

There is also a helpful list of theaters, concert halls, cinemas, galleries, museums, monuments and hotels (not that you have much choice in that matter since Intourist assigns you where it will). They also list stores and gift or souvenir shops, but mention bookshops only in passing. They list post-offices, money exchanges, banks and places of worship—although the latter are missing from the index. The listing of phone numbers of all the above is most irregular and spotty. In the absence of anything like our comprehensive American phone book, it would be very handy indeed to have phone numbers for places of amusement

and museums.

It seems strange that so much space is given to the Russian Orthodox church and so little—none at all, really—to non-orthodox places of worship. Although the Russian Orthodox is the largest church in the S.U. and bound up with Russian national and cultural history, most tourists identify with some other religious group and would doubtless like to visit their own church or synagogue. It also strikes one as odd that although the Louises give the names of all other houses of worship in full, synagogues are listed only as "synagogue."

There are many black and white illustrations in *The Complete Guide to the Soviet Union*, none in color. There are many good maps, but all are too small for easy use. It would help if the city maps with street names had an accompanying table to make it easy to find a particular street.

The most useful section, in my opinion, is that containing gener-

al information, including political, historical and religious background, addresses and phone numbers of embassies, consulates and foreign travel agencies, as well as the official Soviet agency (Intourist), advice on what to expect in hotel accommodations and tips on shopping and money. I have given the book to several friends who are not experienced travelers in the S.U. but are experts in particular fields—for example, the theater. In all cases they report that the section dealing with their field contained everything they wanted to know in a most readable form.

On the whole, I would rate *The Complete Guide to the Soviet Union* a welcome addition to the available literature. But it is far too expensive, even granting the sky-rocketing prices of books in general. Another guide, recently published by Harper & Row, is priced at \$10.95, and that is also too expensive. \$1.95 to \$2.95 ought to be tops for items like guides that are almost always out of date as soon as they are published.

—Bernard Koten

Bernard Koten is a Russian scholar, an experienced traveler in the USSR, presently working in the Slavic Studies Library of New York University.

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Cleaver & Colson praise the Lord



"Eldridge and I were both wrong," Colson asserts. "Neither of us could do anything to change society. Only the Almighty can."

By Bill Ritter

San Diego. It was not the usual San Diego sports arena crowd—the parking lot scene made that clear. Absent were the sounds of screeching tires and revving engines that accompany rock concert crowds and hockey fans as they weave their way into the arena.

The people here on this Feb. 25th night were different. Cars would stop for people on foot. And they filled the designated parking spaces with near-precision form. There was no rush and soon people were just as calmly filling the arena itself.

They had come for a modern-day revival. A Christian revival. And the bumper stickers on the parked cars told of a commonality shared by few in today's urbane world: "One Way," "Honk If You Love Jesus," and "Have A Nice Forever." For many, these were much more than catchy slogans; it was their lives.

It was apparent that this was not going to be your everyday, run-of-the-mill religious gathering. No way. Tonight, the heavies were coming out. The celebrity converts were going to set things straight, give testimony extolling their acceptance of Jesus Christ as their lord and savior,

and raise the roof off the sports arena.

Charles Colson, former Nixon aide, and Eldridge Cleaver, former black revolutionary, were to join hands in religious brotherhood to spread the word of the Almighty in San Diego. "Togetherness '77" was the theme.

► **Castro, Mao, Marx and Jesus.**

"Will the ministers' wives please follow the ushers," bellowed Ken Overstreet, the local head of Youth for Christ, signaling that the rally was about to begin. The ministers, all men, were to be seated on the platform with Cleaver and Colson.

The ministers finally made their way to their seats, leaving Colson, Cleaver, and Ken Overstreet behind. "Gentlemen," Overstreet said, "I think we should pray for tonight's rally."

All three stood next to the punch bowl, locked hands, bowed their heads, and silently shared an offering. After a minute they heaved a collective sigh, and marched out to greet the Christians.

One would have expected a long round of applause when Cleaver and Colson made their way onto the platform. But there was nothing, only total silence from more than 9,000 observers. It seemed a strange way to kick off a revival.

California State Assemblyman Jim Ellis gave the opening prayer. Colson, in the meantime, had removed his glasses and was pinching the bridge of his nose, as if in deep thought. It was a gesture usually reserved for harried corporate executives, and somehow it didn't seem out of place for Colson.

Cleaver was introduced and received a loud applause. But the crowd seemed restless and wasn't placated by Cleaver's spotty and nervous speech. He talked for nearly 40 minutes about his past—without mentioning Christ—and about the changing climate in the U.S. and his own changing world view.

"Democracy is the greatest and freest form of government in the world," he boasted to loud approval. Colson again was pinching his nose bridge tightly, stopping long enough to acknowledge Cleaver's long-awaited proclamation.

Explaining why he returned to the U.S., Cleaver noted that "I looked up and saw Spiro Agnew was busted...wow." Then, turning to Colson, said "Sorry 'bout that brother," which drew some chuckles from the onlooking assembly.

Cleaver has seemed ill at ease throughout the speech, except when he falls back on familiar rhetoric and well-honed phrases.

"Around the world," he relates, "people had incredible stories about their authoritarian-dictatorial-repressive regimes." The words ran together easily; Cleaver had spoken them so often from the other side of the mountain during the '60s.

Colson is again fingering his nose bridge when Cleaver begins making negative references to Ronald Reagan. All of which causes Jim Ellis, a staunch conservative and avid Reagan backer, to grow noticeably tense, his neck muscles pulling taut.

Finally, at the end of his speech, Cleaver gets rolling.

It happened when he was staring at the moon from his balcony in France, he recalls. "All of a sudden I saw myself on the moon. I started trembling. It was fear coming from deep inside. Then I saw in the moon the faces of Castro, Mao, Marx and Engels—my old heroes. Then I saw Jesus Christ. I started crying and shaking incredibly. I began reciting the 23rd Psalm ("The lord is my shepherd, I shall not want....") over and over again and finally I felt calmness. I ran inside to get my bible and repeated the 23rd Psalm. When I awoke the next morning, I told my wife Kathleen about what had happened (she has since converted also). I told her I just knew I had to go home to the United States."

The crowd cheers. Colson pinches the bridge of his nose. And Eldridge Cleaver knows that the audience is finally his. He is ready to wind it up.

"When the FBI arrested me—I actually surrendered—they handcuffed me and led me past the media to be photographed. Then, when we got in the other room, they took off the handcuffs and patted me on the back. They just wanted to show the press that, after all these years, they were the ones in control of my arrest.

"And now people ask me, 'Did I make a deal? Did I sell out?' Yeah, I made a deal. I sold out. I made a deal with Jesus, I sold out to Jesus. God bless all of you. I love you."

The Christians are going crazy. Colson comes up and embraces Cleaver. Sensing the magic of the moment, Ken Overstreet, with creamy complexion, well-styled hair and beige suit, begins making a pitch for money.

"I know some of you could write out some substantial checks," he reminds the crowd. The "offering" will go to cover costs of the rally, with any extra funds being used to cover "brother Cleaver's legal expenses," explains Overstreet.

Cleaver gives a slight grin when he hears this. He has been the recipient of legal defense funds before. He had, it appeared, finally found his long-lost constituency: he was building a new base and, most importantly, he was once again in the lime-light.

► **"Eldridge and I were both wrong."**

Colson is introduced to loud cheers. The crowd seems to accept him readily. He senses this, and quickly launches into an arm-waving, fist-pounding sermon. His style is what Cleaver's was like in the '60s.

"Where the spirit of the lord is, there is liberty," he shouts to the crowd's approval.

His speech is taken almost entirely from his book, *Born Again*, and it is clear that he has the phrases down pat.

Colson makes a plea for people to pray for Cleaver's legal problems to end, embracing Cleaver as his friend and brother.

And when Cleaver's trial gets underway in early summer, and if he is subsequently freed, these Christians will no doubt take responsibility. After all, they and the Almighty are behind him now.

Colson appears on the stage as more than just a celebrity convert; he is an organizer. His Fellowship House back East, for example, takes in Christian prisoners for two weeks and trains them to organize other inmates to become lovers of the lord. It is more than a Sunday sermon; it is an attempt at religious movement-building, and Colson is center stage in that grand plan.

"Eldridge and I were both wrong," Colson asserts. "Neither of us could do anything to change society. Only the Almighty can. You can change the world you live in only if you make the change in your heart."

The Sports Arena crowd is wild with emotion. Cleaver and Colson greet each other again, and people start filing out.

The crowd had been emotional, yet quite disciplined. Controlled revival.

But as they left the giant arena, few realized the miracle that had actually transpired.

Colson and Cleaver had virtually walked on water; you could see it through the cracks in the temporary wooden floor. Fortunately, it was frozen, awaiting the next night's hockey game. Soul on ice.

Bill Ritter is a San Diego journalist.

Cleaver's changing history:
see page 20

Cleaver's espousal of Christianity probably can be taken with a few grains of salt. It's his way of making money right now.

Photo by Vince Compagnone